47
OVEMBER 1988

SOVIET WEEKLY
WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

Academician Sagdeyev, a man who can say No

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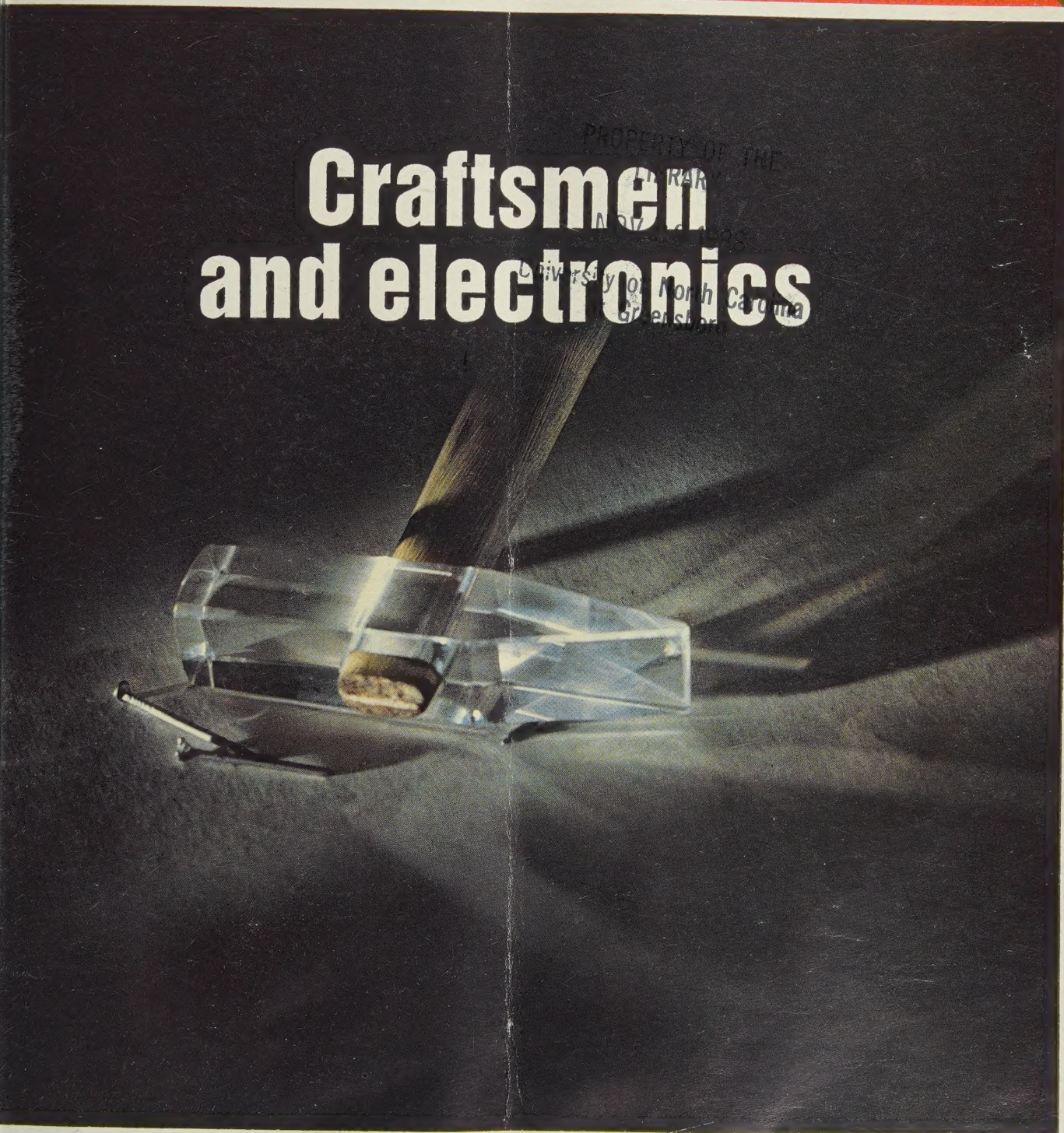

Gorbachev: **"Take an honest look at history"**

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Mikhail Gorbachev: History does not forgive conceit and egocentrism. Modern socialist society, which has embarked on the road of profound reforms and which is fully aware of its shortcomings and its problems, can look the rest of the world straight in the face.

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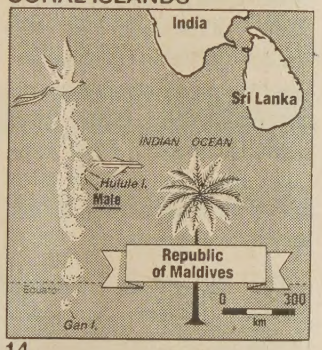

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Cover by Victor Brel

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OPINIONS

Vladimir Girba,
worker, Floresti,
Moldavia, U.S.S.R.

■ I would like to make my contribution to the nationwide discussion of amendments to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

It should be recorded in the Constitution that in all the republics and autonomous regions and areas of the Soviet Union the language spoken by the indigenous population shall be the official language in a given territory.

If we are to establish genuine self-government of the people, the government should include representatives of large informal organizations – popular fronts, human rights, ecological and other groups.

It is necessary, at last, to permit free travel abroad (and likewise freedom to return home) not just for family reasons, but also for treatment, holiday and employment in other countries, as this is normal practice elsewhere. For travel abroad people should be issued either with permanent passports or special insertions in their Soviet passports.

And one more proposal that has already been extensively discussed, It is necessary to remove all articles envisaging punishment for "anti-Soviet activities" from the criminal code. In a truly law-governed state there can be no talk of prosecuting people for their beliefs.

Gilles de La Rocque
Paris, France

■ This letter is a sort of comment on Alexander Pumpyansky's article "Turning the globe with a ski stick?" (issue 19, 1988) about a meeting held in Andorra by the International Skiing Journalists' Club. I remembered one old story in this connection.

It was June 1972. A Franco-Soviet team formed to study the possibility of tourism in the Caucasus set out from Cheget and reached Mt. Azau. It consisted of five Soviet and three French mountaineers and was led by an experienced local guide, who took pride in being able to show his picturesque "domains" to the guests. The ascent lasted many hours, and the only antidote against getting tired was the amazing prospect of reaching the "roof" of Europe.

Sixteen years have passed since that unforgettable ascent. In this time the Soviet and French partners studied plans to set up a tourist camp in the central Caucasus, where the team had climbed the mountain. But this attractive idea, passed down from a small to a big commission of rigorous experts from both countries, eventually petered out because of increased East-West tension.

Why not to cast a nostalgic look into the past and dream of the impossible this year, in the climate of perestroika? The setting up of an international tourist centre in a Caucasian beauty spot could be a source of cultural and technical achievements.

Let us dream of a new meeting of Soviet and French mountaineers on Mt. Elbrus. Why not hold it next year, when the bicentenary of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen will be observed?

Vladimir Grivenko,
postgraduate,
Institute of
World Economics
and International
Relations,
Academy
of Sciences,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ Among the memorable dates observed this year is the 125th anniversary of the speech delivered by Abraham Lincoln in Gettysburg on November 19, 1863. It is perhaps Lincoln's most famous speech, as in it he gave one of the most brilliant definitions of democracy.

The Gettysburg Address consists of only ten sentences. It lasted less than two minutes, and Lincoln finished it before many of the 15,000 people who got together in Gettysburg realized that he had started speaking at all. The last sentence of the Address contains the words that later made it world famous: "the government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The Russian translation by Vladimir Nabokov expresses the meaning of the sentence much better. It interprets the phrase as government exercised with the most active participation of the ordinary people, government exercised by the people themselves.

Let me quote one more sentence: "genuine democracy – government exercised for the people and by the people – has been established and is developing." It was taken not from Lincoln's speech, but from the Programme of the CPSU.

The point is that the concept of democracy cannot be associated exclusively with one country, or one political system. It belongs to the most fundamental values of mankind. We have come to understand at last that values common to all mankind are above class, national or other values.

If our perestroika goes ahead full blast and is seen through to the end – and let's us hope it will be so – we shall achieve genuine democracy, putting the system of universal values into effect.

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Munduzbek Tentimishev
Tashkent, U.S.S.R.

■ Ivan Shekhovtsov, a retired prosecutor from Kharkov, took an unprecedented libel action for Stalin versus Ales Adamovich, an eminent and honest writer. Having read about this in issue No. 40, 1988, I recalled people who were victims of the "great leader." I have not only heard about such people. I have also met them.

Recently I met a man who was taken prisoner by the nazis and was twice convicted on that account after the war. He was only acquitted in 1954. Thirty-four years later, among the guests at a wedding he recognized the judge who had passed the severe and unjust sentence on him. The former judge was confident and, addressing the young couple, gave them advice for their future. He evidently had no doubts about his "happy" old age.

GLASNOST

My grandfather was reported missing during the war. His four brothers did not return home either. Sometimes I think that perhaps my grandfather was not killed in battle, but that his life was ruined by prosecutors of the Shekhovtsov type, people "devoted to the cause." It is quite probable that, having escaped from nazi captivity, he fell into their hands. My grandmother and father had been waiting for him for many years.

I am for Adamovich and against people like Shekhovtsov.

Mikhail Roshchin
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ The celebration of the millennium of Christianity in Russia certainly evoked public interest in our past. It seems that the reappraisal of the 1,000-year history of Russian culture is only beginning. One of its crucial points is, in my opinion, the schism in the Russian Church in the 17th century. The most prominent figure of the time was Archpriest Avvakum, who adhered to the old belief.

Despite numerous publications of his "Life" and separate studies, there is as yet no comprehensive analysis of Avvakum's role in the history of spiritual quests in Russia. It is interesting that the most thorough monograph entitled "Avvakum and the Beginning of the Schism," was published in France in the 1930s. The author, Pierre Pascal, worked at a Moscow research institute in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and studied the life of Gracchus Babeuf.

In a library Pascal came across an academic edition of the "Life." "I have discovered the pure and savoury Russian language spoken by all Russians before Peter the Great and still spoken by peasants," he wrote. "Instead of dry sociology, which replaced the entertaining history of humanity with schemes, I saw before my eyes a living picture of the Moscow of the 17th century. It seemed varied, amazingly distant from or very close to the 20th century. I imagined the soul of an elite man, conscientious and indomitable to his death. There was a nourishing spiritual freedom in this man of genius..."

Captivated by the tragic figure of Avvakum, who immolated himself for his belief, Pascal acquaints the reader with the past, which is indissolubly linked with the present. Unfortunately, his monograph is almost unobtainable. As far as I know, there are two copies of Pascal's book in Moscow. One is in the Lenin Library and the other, in the Historical Library. There is, however, a translation of this wonderful book, done in the 1960s by Sergei Tolstoy, a grandson of Leo Tolstoy. It is a pity that this expert translation has not yet been published. The book would be interesting not only to specialists, but also to educated general readers.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT

Drawing by Farid Vakhitov

CORRESPONDENCE

Assefa Belachew
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

■ I have been following Soviet politics for quite some time. I have also read about the history of your country, especially its revolutionary period. I derive my knowledge of the Soviet Union mainly from books published in the West and also from books put out by Novosti Press Agency. But when I want to learn about current affairs in your country, I have no alternative but to turn to Western sources of information. It may seem strange, but it is true: in our city it is much more difficult to get a copy of New Times than of Time or Newsweek. Your magazine used to be sold in public stores some time ago. Now I see none of it.

GLASNOST

I went to the Soviet Cultural Centre to take out a subscription to New Times, but found that it was impossible to subscribe to it. Moreover, it is impossible to read the latest issue of the magazine in the library, because it is delivered with a great delay. At the same time, the Cultural Centre hands out copies of New Times to high school students and even to people who simply sell them as packing paper to shopkeepers.

I am not against the free distribution of your magazine. On the contrary, I even support it. But if you do not want to lose serious readers you should make sure that they have priority.

From the editors:

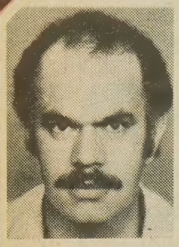
In connection with this letter, we applied to Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, a foreign trade association distributing New Times and other Soviet periodicals abroad. Here is its reply:

"In Ethiopia there is no subscription to New Times; it is only sold at newsstands. The government company Kuraz, with which our foreign trade association has cooperated for a long time, takes 100 copies. Another company, Mesay, which began to cooperate with Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga last year, also takes only 100 files a year. If these companies agreed to distribute 5,000-10,000 copies of New Times, we would only be glad."

We too would be happy to learn that this was happening.

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

PRIVATE OPINION



SAID ABU IMARA, Chargé d'Affaires of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the U.S.S.R.

The special session of the Palestine National Council convened in Algiers is an important event for me, for any Palestinian Arab, and for our suffering people as a whole.

An independent Palestinian state on Palestinian soil, with Jerusalem as its capital, was proclaimed on November 15. It belongs to all Palestinians wherever they live. We regard our state as an integral part of the Arab nation. The Algiers forum denounced international terrorism and came out in favour of a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, including that in the Middle East.

The National Council also adopted a political declaration of great importance to all Palestinians. It supports, in particular, Security Council Resolution 242 and other U.N. resolutions affirming the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. I believe this will clear the way for an international conference on the Middle East.

We very much hope that the decisions taken by the National Council, our supreme legislative body, will help in our struggle to realize the aspirations of the Palestinian people, create an independent state, and bring about the long-awaited peace.

ALEXEI MOSKVICHEV, Deputy Minister of Public Health of the U.S.S.R

At the end of October, parents began to take their children away from Chernovtsy. What compelled them to do so? A strange disease. At first it had pronounced symptoms of influenza. Then sleep disorders and hallucinations began. Finally, a victim went almost bald. This caused alarm among doctors. Having analyzed the situation, they concluded that nothing of the kind had ever happened before.

Teams of doctors and specialists in other fields have been urgently set up to investigate the causes of the disease. Scientists from the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, the Vernadsky Institute of Geochemistry and Analytical Chemistry and the mineralogy and chemistry institutes and others are now examining the circumstances. Quite a number of hypotheses have been advanced.

The disease is most likely to have been caused by the acid rains that fell on Chernovtsy in July of this year. A high quantity of thallium and aluminium detrimental to human health was assimilated by the soil. Moreover, experts are also trying to establish how thallium could have got into the soil in the central part of Chernovtsy.

Why was it only children who suffered? Evidently because their organisms are still at a formative stage and are not sufficiently adapted to environmental influences. Some of the children had experienced vitamin deficiencies even before the outbreak of the disease. Moreover, a very unfavourable geochemical background has developed in Chernovtsy over the past few years.

The hair of the first children to succumb to the disease is now growing a little. But unfortunately more cases of the disease have been registered. I am sure that scientists will find the culprits. However, all of us have to think once more about how to purify the atmosphere as chemical waste imperils not only the environment but also the most precious things we have – our children.

KWON HI GEN, Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Soviet Union

The Central People's Committee, the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, and the Administration Council of the republic, at a joint meeting in Pyongyang came up with a comprehensive initiative to expedite the reunification of the country and ensure a lasting peace in the peninsula.

A stable peace is to be achieved on the basis of four principles: the desire for reunification, the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, the reduction of armed forces in both North and South, and negotiations between parties concerned.

The plan would see a phased evacuation of U.S. nuclear weapons by the end of 1990 and of U.S. forces by the end of 1991. Both Koreas should have cut their armed forces to 100,000 by 1992. It is suggested that the United States negotiate with both Koreas on these issues, with bilateral talks between the D.P.R.K. and the United States and between North and South to be held as part of the tripartite talks.

The meeting also advanced a plan for a relaxation of the current military and political tensions between North and South. It is suggested that both sides refrain from mutual attacks and insinuations and establish cooperation and exchanges in various fields. The demilitarized zone is to become a zone of peace. Large-scale military exercises should be ended.

The success of talks on these issues would create a favourable atmosphere for high-level talks to consider such important issues as the adoption of a declaration on non-aggression and the proclamation of a Confederal Democratic Republic Koryo.

Pyongyang's new proposals take into account Washington's latest statements about its desire to reduce tension on the Korean peninsula and Seoul's intention to discuss military problems. It now remains for the United States and South Korea to back up their statements and intentions with action.

Mikhail Gorbachev:
Socialism is capable of renovation

While in Poland on a friendly visit last summer, Mikhail Gorbachev had a talk with a group of Polish artists and scientists. Some of them later sent their observations on the problems touched upon in the talk. Mikhail Gorbachev's comments on this message follow.

The priority of all-human values

General criteria in the sphere of basic human rights and freedoms are not only possible but necessary: incidentally, they have been recorded in the relevant international pacts (although, unfortunately, not all the states have ratified them).

The problem of the correlation between class and all-human approaches is of signal importance. Sometimes we come across here with a certain misunderstanding of our position, with an opposition of one thing to another. But it is a fact that interaction between the proletarian-class and all-human interests is inherent in Marxism.

I shall permit myself a slight digression in this context.

It's about time we have sorted out the repeated attempts to oppose "young Marx" to "mature Marx" – a product of dogmatic Marxology of old. The former was described as a humanist, and the latter as the herald of class struggle. The truth of the matter is, that hadn't Marx, Engels and Lenin been humanists, they wouldn't have become "Marxists" figuratively speaking. They have dedicated all their lives to man and his well-being. Anguish and wrath, ardent sympathy for his sufferings were the initial and permanent impulses of their selfless devotion to their intellectual and political cause. But as distinct from other fighters for society worthy of man they were **consistent realists** and sought ways towards that society along scientific lines.

Marxism has become possible as a result of creative synthesis and a concentrated processing of the top achievements in the sphere of the **humanities** (in the original meaning of this term). It is a direct heir to humanism which emerged centuries before it and, in its turn, assimilated the basic human values which set man apart from the animal kingdom, and which helped him survive incredible adversities.

Consequently, the conclusion we've made about the priority of all-human interests and values in the nuclear age is by no means a departure from the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. On the contrary, it is fully in line with this philosophy's intrinsic humanism.

At the same time, class approach has lost none of its importance. This statement is not merely a tribute to the Marxist tradition. It reflects our teaching's invariably realistic approach to life.

The classes, antagonistic ones included, do exist – this is a reality. However, a crude division of the world community into classes which are poles apart, and the derivation of all the other social and national differences from class antagonisms, no longer offer the key to the understanding of what's going on in the world today.

New thinking

The former traditional principles of analyzing world developments will no longer suffice to underlie the policy of changing the world for the better. This explains the need for new thinking... Dogmatism had an adverse effect on the life and policies of socialist countries, on their approaches to the processes under way worldwide, on our theory and on the very socialist society. But this is a different story.

I only wish to stress here that Marxism, in its very essence, does not oppose itself to the spiritual development of mankind. It is not a solitary island in the ocean, it is a mighty intellectual trend which influences the entire world social thought and which enriches itself as it receives permanent impulses from other ideological and cultural trends.

I agree with Professor Kuczynski in that Marxist thought should come out more resolutely against outdated dogmas – specifically, against the simplistic interpretation of the basis-superstructure relationships, against vulgar economic and sociological determinism.

... Marxism proceeds from the premise that although superstructure has an important role to play, it remains precisely superstructure, i.e., something which has emerged on a certain economic foundation, or basis. Bases that are essentially identical may sprout varying superstructures, which for their part have an effect (either good, or bad) on the development of the economic basis of society. That social progress can take a variety of courses is due precisely to superstructure. We would have been bad Marxists hadn't we realized the importance of the subjective factor, the people's ability to create new situations (I'm not lapsing into voluntarism or utopianism, mind you), and to carry out the revolutionary reforms the basis is ripe for.

This is the way I see it. To my mind, the history of socialism corroborates such an approach to the interrelationships between the basis and superstructure. The

The full text appears in a collection, "The intelligentsia confronts new problems of socialism," put out by the Political Literature publishing house.

lessons of our own history bear it out, anyway.

And now, let me explain what Lenin and Leninism mean to us and why we, upon launching our perestroika, keep turning to him. Professor Sandauer has his misgivings about this; he maintains that Lenin means "world revolution" and the Comintern as its tool.

What can I say to that? By saying that Marxism-Leninism is viable and possesses a high creative potential we do not imply that every line of its founders' writings is the absolute and eternal truth. Not at all. The truth is always concrete. Many ideas, even major ones, they put forward under specific historical circumstances, applied to those circumstances only. Having "done their job," these ideas are now part of history. But the main ideas belong to the future, they are still to be adequately translated into life – with new conditions taken into account, of course. Immortal are our teachers' previsions of genius, their dialectical method of thinking; immortal and instructive for all the times to come is the record of their practical revolutionary acitivity; and those great men's ethical standards and moral makeup will always be examples for emulation.

This is why, as we solicit Lenin's assistance, we say: if we want him to help us along with our perestroika and renovation of society, we must know all his works, know and understand his entire theoretical and political heritage, the entire effort of that great and universal brain, rather than pick out certain quotations as "weighty arguments" in favour of what may even be correct judgements. Lenin's heritage is priceless for us as a school of scientific revolutionary thought which teaches us never to lose contact with reality, as an experience of the revolutionary transformation of society.

Leninism is a historically conditioned form Marxism as a developing doctrine assumed in the early 20th century. It is not restricted to the period when Lenin was at the head of our Party and state.

Now we have got down to a far-reaching reform of our political system. Now we judge whether it is really socialist not by the extent to which it conforms to certain habitual notions, abstract schemes and dogmas, but by what it actually brings every individual and society as a whole.

This does not mean, of course, that everything is perfectly clear to us today, that we have all the recipes and all the answers. We still have a long way to go to a modern concept of socialism measuring up to the highest standards of the approaching 21st century.

We shall not get anywhere, however, if we keep repeating truisms and idolizing the authorities.

The Church and socialism

The relationships between religion and Marxism-Leninism have assumed a specific nature in socialist states. Mutual misunderstandings, antagonisms even, mistakes and wrong action have taken place in all of them, although in forms differing from country to country and through either side's fault.

Marxism is, indeed, a materialistic teaching – and, consequently, an atheistic one. This does not mean, however, that socialist society is incompatible with religion and the Church, although the record of "early socialism" in a number of countries suggested this conclusion.

In our post-October history, expecially in the presonality cult years, many blunders were made in this matter, too. As in all the other cases of the aberration of socialism, the blame for that went not to socialism, not to Marxism-Leninism, but to their vulgarizers, or to those who had betrayed the ideals and principles of our revolution. Adherence to Marxism is not tantamount to denying other views the right to existence.

Therefore, perestroika embraces the **sphere of relationships between the Soviet state and the Church as well.**

This is an important aspect of our home policy aimed at consolidating society with due account taken of the varying views and convictions of its individual groups and strata's.

In our country, the Church is separated from the state, but our Constitution provides for the citizens' right to the freedom of conscience. These are the basic and unshakeable principles underlying the relations between believers and atheists in our country.

Mikhail Gorbachev meets with Polish scientific

Our present approach to this problem vividly manifested itself in the context of the 1000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia. It is noteworthy, at the same time, that there are many religions in our country, and the state is not going to give any of them political preference over others.

But there is a different and, perhaps, even more important side to this matter. We want believers not only to have every opportunity to take part in the life of society, but actively to contribute to its renovation as well. Much depends here on overcoming the stereotypes which have taken shape over the decades in the minds of non-believers and believers alike. Against the background of socialist pluralism, the Party attaches great importance to this effort.

Perestroika and the administrative apparatus

We do not identify bureaucracy with the administrative apparatus although I must say that the domination of adminis-

and cultural workers in Warsaw's Royal Palace. *TASS photo*

trative-command methods has entangled one with the other. As one leafs through our papers one can often come across invectives volleyed indiscriminately, in the heat of polemics, at the administrative apparatus as a whole. This is understandable: indeed, the administrative apparatus transcended by far – as Lenin had feared it would – the bounds of the right and functions originally set to it in the socialist state and in the Party. It has actually become not only a potential source of the bureaucratization of society, but a tangible embodiment of this bureaucratization manifest to all.

The situation is now clear, in principle. We shall wage an implacable struggle against red tape and bureaucrats. On the other hand, no state has ever been able to do without the administrative apparatus. We do not approve of the anarchist concept. For our perestroika, we need the administrative apparatus in the state machinery, in the government, in the economy and in the Party. However, it should become different at all levels – i.e., modern, competent, highly professional, computerized, using scientific methods of management and, of course, accountable to democratically elected bodies.

So we are going to thoroughly reorganize it and bring it in line with the demands made by the restructuring of the entire state system and by a radical economic reform. It is quite obvious that the new industrial and agricultural management mechanism, the new role of the Soviets and the new forms of Party leadership make such a cumbersome, over-complicated and ramified administrative system superfluous. We shall cut it drastically, and we have already started doing that. We shall simplify its structure and eliminate all its elements, unnecessary in the new conditions, from top to bottom, and all along the line...

An alliance restored

The Soviet intelligentsia has done much to create the psychological and moral prerequisites for perestroika. It must be said for fairness' sake, however, that some of the cultural workers adapted themselves to the situation which obtained in the stagnation period, and forgot that their mission was to serve the cause of the truth. It would be wrong to blame them alone for that post-factum. Failure to have the courage of their convictions caused most of them – as artists as well as human beings – real tragedy.

Incidentally, this "heritage" explains the collisions and debates – some of them quite fierce – now taking place in the sphere of science and in creative unions. The Party deems it its duty not to distance itself from these processes.

One can understand the bitter feelings about the past, about the irreparable losses and lost opportunities. But we are against discussions being based on the principle of "revenge-seeking," against the search for the truth and for the answers to the eternal questions "what is to be done?" and "who is to blame?" degenerating into the squaring of accounts.

The people wouldn't forgive the intelligentsia wasting its efforts on matters having nothing to do with the fate of the country at this crucial juncture in its history. The Party calls on the intelligentsia to rise above mutual accusations and other such pettifogging and to meet in full society's demand – higher than ever now, in conditions of perestroika – for

more knowledge, higher competence, a greater spiritual and moral potential. In a word, the intelligentsia must carry its mission in the process of the great country's revolutionary transformation...

After April 1985 the Party readjusted its cultural policy. Now its top priority is to provide every condition for free creative endeavour, so as to promote the intellectual progress of society, its enlightenment, humanization and moral improvement.

This policy is based on trust. After all, it has to do with the Soviet intelligentsia numerous representatives of which have repeatedly proved by their actions and by their work their loyality to Motherland and to its socialist cause. The variety of their views, assessments, tastes, and styles, the different (and often unusual) ways in which they manifest their talents, intelligence and characters – all this adds up to the intellectual and moral wealth of the nation, of the country.

We all for diversity which we regard as an important means of perestroika, transformation and renovation of society.

We have denounced a cultural policy which did great damage not only to the relationships between the Party and the intelligentsia, deforming these relationships, but to society as a whole.

Now, three-odd years after the launching of the perestroika process, we can say that the ideological alliance between the leadership of the country and the artistic intelligentsia concerned with the fate of its homeland has been restored...

Lessons of history

...Any analysis of the past must be serious, competent and responsible. Conditions have been provided – or are being provided, at least – for an uninhibited document-aided research into historical facts, for their elucidation, and for working out common approaches and common assessments, whenever possible.

We must take an honest look at history. A historian should never turn a blind eye to the real causes of this or that event. In other words, he must be able to look the truth straight in the face whether it is bitter or sweet, whether it flatters our national pride or is to be ashamed of.

The main lesson we can and must draw from our common history is that both our nations had to pay for any aggravation of our relations caused by either side. What's more, the national interests of both nations suffered from that.

Indeed, if we review Soviet-Polish relations alone, which are seventy years old, we shall see that no "painful incident" in their history has been caused solely by Moscow, or solely by Warsaw.

Take 1939, for instance. Anyone who makes a firm stand for a realistic view of things must agree that the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, signed on August 23, was inevitable. However, the question of whether our countries did their utmost to counter the imminent threat requires a profound joint study.

As for the "secret" protocol related to this pact, I must say that the search for its original has been unsuccessful so far. The copies current in the West and familiar to us are dubious for many reasons. To admit the authenticity of these copies at the Soviet government level would be frivolous on our part and would create a very dangerous precedent.

As for the Treaty of Friendship Between the U.S.S.R. and Germany signed a month later, on September 28, 1939, and Molotov's statements in this connection, we regard that not only as a political mistake which had grave consequences for us, for other countries and for the communist movement as a whole, but as a direct and defiant departure from Leninism, as a violation of the Leninist principles.

Interrelations among socialist countries

...Indeed, ours are supposedly the very countries to show an example of new-type relationships – open, absolutely equal and mutually beneficial, and fair in every respect.

As we are giving a criticial analysis to the record of the Soviet Union's interrelations with other socialist countries, however, we are compelled to admit that we have failed to avoid serious mistakes in this matter of signal importance. We invite historians to sort out everything honestly, objectively, without undue emotions and prejudices...

It would perhaps be appropriate here to stress once again that we have discarded, once and for all, the idea that the variety of roads to a new society and the fact that each socialist country has its specific national and state interests are merely a nuisance and barrier in the way of their unity. In the light of new thinking we have come to realize full well that the key to unity lies not in unification and not in procrustean methods, but in using multiformity for the benefit of all; not in ignoring specific national and state interests, but in persistent quests for solutions based on a balance of interests which our common socialist choice offers favourable conditions for.

Obviously, there exists a profound interconnection between the processes of perestroika and innovation of socialism in individual countries, on the one hand, and the rise of their cooperation to a qualitatively new level, on the other... All socialist countries have already "grown up" and need neither admonitions, nor instructions. Nevertheless, I am sure that they are prepared to, and will learn from one another of their own free will. I regard this as an important advantage of truly equal partnership which infringes upon no one's interests and which benefits all.

The old continent sets an example

...I am glad that the idea of a "common European home" has gained universal recognition. As one looks at the motley map of Europe and recalls the dramatic and, at the same time, fascinating vicissitudes in the historical destinies of any, even the smallest European state, every one of which has long been associated with us culturally, one comes to realize how preciously fragile this ancient and actually small continent of ours is, and what a great and serious responsibility we bear for this "common home"...

Previously, world war used to be unleashed in Europe. And now our old continent sets the world an example of political wisdom: there has been not a single armed conflict between European states for almost half a century. Europeans have reason to be proud of the indispensable contribution they make toward the settlement of conflicts on other continents.

European states belonging to different socio-political systems can do much to bridge, rather than widen the technological and cultural gap between various parts of Europe proper and the world at large. This must be our common objective the attainment of which will benefit all of us, the whole of mankind...

History teaches, although politicians still haven't learned its lessons too well, that every wrong decision, even if it looks clever at a first glance, has to be paid for in the end. Today it is becoming increasingly clear to ever more people that history is not a "may-the-best-man-win" game. In the final analysis, all stand to lose from armed clashes, from attempts to impose one's will on others. History does not forgive conceit and egocentrism. Modern socialist society, which has embarked on the road of profound reforms and which is fully aware of its shortcomings and its problems, can look the rest of the world straight in the face. It is really capable of renovation, of self-improvement. The present world, and the world of the future are unthinkable without such a genuinely socialist society. ■

QUOTATIONS

Karoly Grosz,
General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

■ A one-party system is not a matter of principle for us. Socialism can be abolished with one party or several parties. Socialism can also be built with one party or several parties. In any case, we shall live under a one-party system till the next party congress in 1990, and we shall not begin to discuss the question before the congress opens. The question will be decided at the congress.

On the one hand, I am not in favour of parties that are mere supernumeraries. On the other, I can't imagine a party that would want to change our current social and international commitments. Several decades will pass before this happens. From this point of view, the year 1945 is not very far in the past.

Zhao Ziyang,
General Secretary of the Communist Party of China

■ A Sino-Soviet summit could take place in Peking in the first half of next year... The prospects for the meeting depend on progress at the talks between the two parties on ways of achieving a Kampuchean settlement.

The Chinese and Soviet foreign ministers will exchange visits at the end of this and the beginning of next year. The possibility of a summit will depend on how smoothly these visits go...

Even if a summit meeting takes place and relations are normalized, ties should be established only on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China pursues an independent policy and is not going to establish tied relations with any of the great powers... As for the possibility of concluding a treaty between China and the Soviet Union, we have not yet considered this question.

"I hope I'll take this burden over from you in four years or so..."
Drawing by Vsevolod Arsenyev

George Shultz,
Secretary of State, U.S.A.

■ Of course we see major developments taking place in the Soviet Union. I don't want to try to evaluate that. Time will tell how successful those efforts will be. But I believe there is no question whatever that a major effort is under way. If... the kind of reforms that Mr Gorbachev and his colleagues are talking about succeed, then the Soviet Union will be a very different place...

I think the Soviet leaders deserve credit for recognizing the problems and trying to solve them. And I think that, as we see this, the environment for democratic values of peace and freedom is probably healthier than it has been for some time.

We have to maintain, and we will, I'm sure, whatever the outcome of this election is – maintain in the United States – and I think throughout the world, we should – an attitude that performance is what counts. We're going to be vigilant, we're going to be realistic, but at the same time pragmatic. When we see an opportunity for problem-solving, where there is an opportunity to do something that they want to do and that we think is in our interest... we shouldn't be afraid to do it, in other words, engage.

After all, a willingness to engage, to innovate and to cooperate are characteristic of democratic approach to foreign policy.

Hosni Mubarak,
President of Egypt

■ Israel should at last take a responsible step and respond to the Arabs' genuine desire for peace in the region. The lessons of history teach us that peace cannot rest on the violation of the rights of another people and on occupation. Equally, security cannot be ensured by territorial expansion, the stockpiling of armaments and terror against other peoples. The only way to achieve peace lies in implementing terms objectively acceptable to all parties and in ensuring coexistence based on the freedom of choice.

Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto,
Foreign Minister of Costa Rica

■ The United States will certainly put forward new initiatives to facilitate a settlement of the regional crisis. Perhaps it will abandon its policy of military support for the contras and put the emphasis on diplomatic efforts with a view to opening up greater possibilities for dialogue and negotiation.

Buran: our answer to Shuttle?

Of all known transport systems, it is only spaceships that come back to the point of departure (the earth in this case) changed beyond recognition. All that is left of a multistage rocket after an orbital trip is a small spherical descent module affording only cramped and uncomfortable quarters for the crew. The descent module is not very manoeuvrable, as is evidenced by the dramatic conclusion of the recent Soviet-Afghan mission. Another drawback of non-recoverable systems is that their descent modules can only bring back a small payload.

That the non-recoverable rocket is not always the most convenient and economical means of space travel was realized already by the pioneers of space. In Moscow's Museum of Cosmonautics one can see drawings of a space plane (still rather primitive, but it's the idea that matters!) conceived by Friedrich Zander, an engineer with a romantic cast of mind, way back in the 1930s. In the 1960s reusable systems were ardently advocated by Sergei Korolyov, the founder of practical cosmonautics, who had never been content to leave his ideas on paper. He didn't live to see a reusable spacecraft, however. Notably, Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space, who completed a course of study at the Air Academy in 1967, devoted his graduation thesis precisely to recoverable space systems.

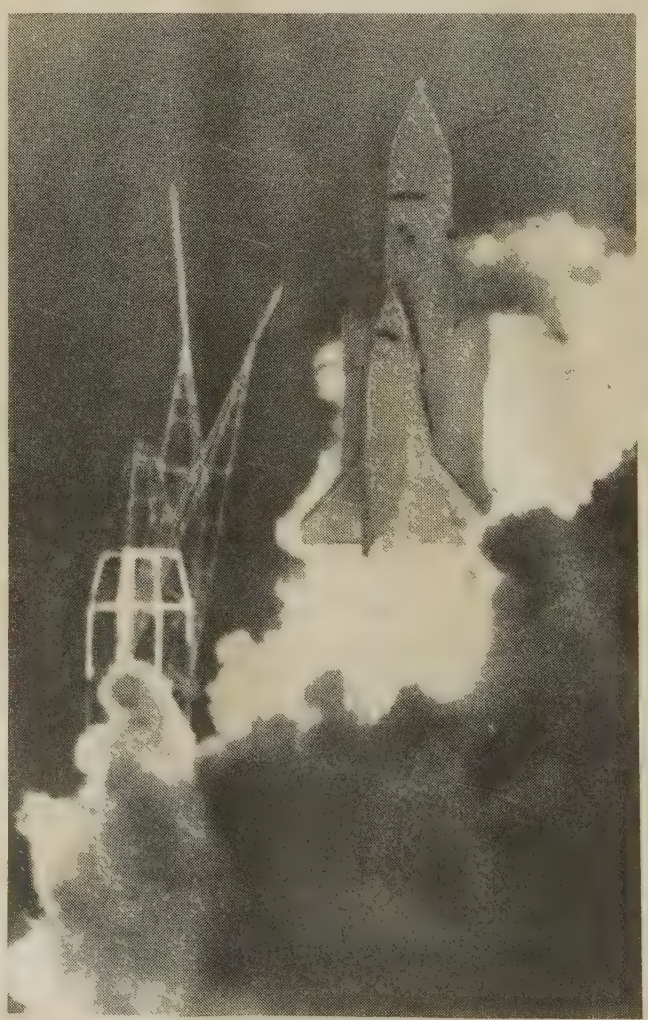
This is not just another banal claim that all new ideas originate in our country. I think it is only when one is first to put an idea into practice that one really has something to be proud of. But the idea was in the air, and the Americans were the first to realize it. Their Columbia Space Shuttle lifted off on April 12-14, 1981.

All the above prompts the following question. Why has the Soviet Union, with its long record of theorizing about recoverable space systems, yielded the palm to the U.S. in this sphere of covert rivalry in space? In the era of rapid scientific and technological progress, seven years and a half is not a very short period, after all.

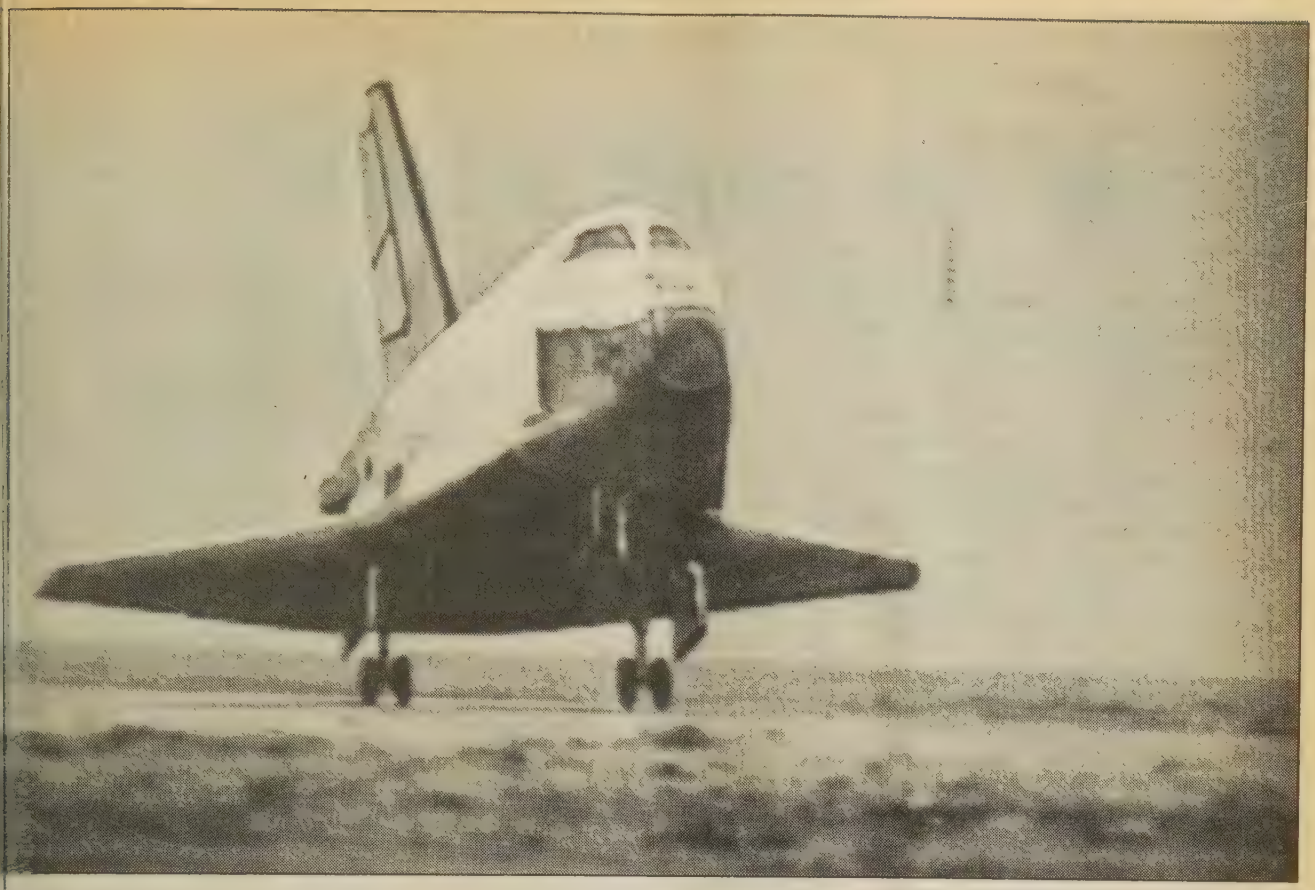
I put this question to Vitaly Doguzhiyev, chairman of the state commission responsible for testing the Energiya universal space rocket system with the Buran orbitral spacecraft.

"At one time," Vitaly Doguzhiyev replied, "the U.S.S.R. concentrated on a no less important aspect of cosmonautics – the development of orbital stations. We applied ourselves to this effort and achieved impressive results, and had practically no resources left to put into recoverable systems. Incidentally, the Americans have now got down to the development of a 'stayer' orbital station. As a result, when all is said and done, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. have made about the same progress in cosmonautics. The Space Shuttle programme is worth an estimated 10 billion dollars, and each launching costs 80 million. Our expenditures on Energiya and Buran are commensurate with these figures."

There is another point which cannot be passed over in silence. Certain experts abroad allege that the Russians have copied American technology. This talk was given an additional impetus after the papers published photographs of the Soviet space "bird" which, no doubt, looked like the American one. But this is a purely outward likeness – the outline in this particular case is dictated by aerodynamics, by the resistance the atmosphere offers to a flying vehicle. Actually, the American and Soviet recoverable space systems haven't got much in common. As the experts say, they differ in concept.



The first and perhaps most fundamental distinction is that the Energiya transport system can orbit any large space vehicles, as well as a ship. As for the Space Shuttle system, it is designed to cater to the "shuttles" only because its second-stage engines are placed on the spaceship itself. The Energiya carries rocket engines of both the first and second stages, which take the ship to an altitude of 160 kilometres, while the Buran's engines pick up the required speed only in the third stage. Moreover, the Energiya's first-stage



Orbital craft landing

TASS photo

units are to be fitted with a rescue system and, after preventive maintenance, reused. The second-stage unit drops in the predetermined region of the Pacific Ocean and, in the opinion of experts, can easily be rescued in the long run.

Any, mentioning such a substantial technological difference in propulsion, unit layouts automatically lead to differences in practically all sections of the two space transport systems. For all their outward likeness, the planes themselves have very little in common. For example, the Buran can fly unmanned – and did so on its first test flight. The Shuttle is also designed for automatic missions – but not for automatic landings. This might seem an insignificant difference. It is not for nothing, however, that Igor Volk, Pilot Cosmonaut of the U.S.S.R. and head of the specialized group of Buran test-pilots, refers to the lift-off (naturally) and landing as the most crucial legs of a space mission. Indeed, the orbital leg is not believed by designers to have any mysteries in store for cosmonauts; therefore, the Buran is to make only two loops around the Earth on its maiden mission.

How many planes have crashed in landing?! This is why the Americans land their Shuttles manually. Even if the landing is done automatically, a pilot takes over the controls within two or three metres of the touchdown. As for the Buran it is wholly taken care of by computers whose software is the best there is. The Buran landing system was optimized by a Tu-154 plane which had done scores of landings on the cosmodrome's runway unmanned.

According to Professor Karashtin, a ground computer "picks up" an aerospace plane as soon as it reaches the so-called "key point" (25-30 km away from the airdrome) and ensures its guidance to the runway. The guidance should be error-proof because the Buran can take no second landing approach, of course. Incidentally, the Americans are spared these troubles by their own topography – their Shuttle lands on a table-smooth and vast surface of a dried-up lake.

Now, if the Buran has any lift-off troubles (the tragical experience of the Challenger is taken into account), it can be put into a low one-loop orbit and landed on a stand-by airdrome accepting heavy aircraft – or manoeuvred to the main space airdrome situated near the lift-off complex.

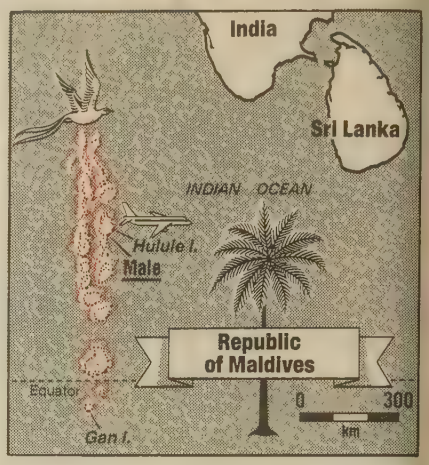
Finally, about the prospects. What's the outlook for recoverable space systems? Some experts hold that this avenue of cosmonautics has come up the dead end. Space planes are quite expensive, but what their destinations can be? They can't really be used for long missions, then what's their use for science, one may ask. **Here is what Alexander Dunayev, the Chief of the Glavkosmos of the U.S.S.R., has to say in this context:**

"We need non-recoverable and recoverable systems alike. Reusable orbital craft can accomplish two- and four-week missions. Over this period they can well put in, or remove from, orbit large payloads, or dock to a space complex or a platform. We make no secret of our plans for docking the Buran orbital spaceship with the second-generation Mir station. One can't ignore the fact that certain high-cost satellites remain in orbit after the expiry of their service life – reusable spaceships can retrieve them. It is our concept, however, that two- or three-men crews can better be delivered to the Mir complex by non-recoverable rockets. Presumably, the Buran will lift off two or four times a year for specific space missions. Certainly, we shall never confine ourselves to the Buran – new spaceships are under construction.

Sergei Leskov

Drama on coral islands

Our special correspondent was one of the newsmen that visited the Maldives after the abortive coup.



The atmosphere at Hulule international airport on November 5 was one of subdued silence. A group of Indian and foreign journalists arrived on board an An-32 transport plane of the Indian Air Force in a second "landing operation" on the Maldives.

The first landing operation took place two days earlier and involved 300 Indian paratroops who were joined later by two army battalions airlifted to the country. It marked the beginning of Operation Cactus to counter the coup attempt on the Maldives. The operation was drawing to an end as we arrived. Indian soldiers wearing camouflage uniforms were awaiting embarkation orders and light tanks were crawling into a cargo plane standing on the runway. They were on their way home.

The airport is situated on one of nearly 12 hundred small coral islands stretching for 800 kilometres north to south in the Indian Ocean. The islands make up the Republic of Maldives with a population of nearly 200 thousand.

The Maldives live by the ocean. The consumption of fish in the Repoublic is believed to be the world's highest. Fish is also the main currency earner and an exotic food for tourists who come here attracted by the tropical sun, crystal clear water in the ocean and snow-white beaches. The islands run by the tourist industry have been turned into high-class resorts with luxury hotels.

The touirist industry accounts for 60 per cent of the country's currency earnings.

A Republic was proclaimed in the Maldives on November 11, 1968. The latest coup was the third attempt to topple President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom. The two previous attempts were undertaken in 1980 and 1983, but were relatively easily suppressed. This time things took a very serious turn. Here is an outline of events as described by eyewitnesses whom we met in Male, capital of the Republic.

Late at night on November 2 two boats carrying 150 armed men dropped anchor at the port of Male. It transpired later that most of them were members of the Popular Organization for the Liberation of Tamil Eelam, an extremist nationalist organization active in north and east of Sri Lanka. Among them was a small group of men who came from the Maldives. They took over the principal mosque of Male situated across the street from a thick brick wall surrounding the headquarters of the national security forces which also discharge the police and fire-fighting functions on the islands. The Presidential palace is nearby. Those were the two main targets for the attack.

Major Mohamed Zahir was the senior in command at the HQ at the time. He winced with pain as he was talking to us, he had been shot in the arm.

"As usual the guard was changed outside the palace at 4 a.m., and as soon as the guardsmen returned to the barracks, the HQ came under submachine and machine-gun fire. Later on grenade throwers were brought into action. It became clear that the events were taking a serious turn. The attack lasted for nearly four hours and obviously the attackers

BACKGROUND NOTE

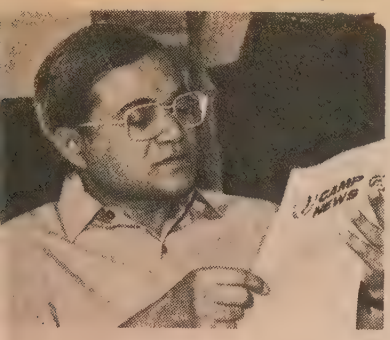
The Republic of Maldives is situated in the northwestern part of the Indian Ocean on the Maldive Archipelago. Only 202 of the Archipelago's 1,196 islands forming 19 atolls are populated. The population of the Republic is 189 thousand and its capital is Male with 46 thousand residents. The official language is Dhivehi and the official religion is Islam.

The Maldives were a British protectorate for almost eight decades. The country gained independence on June 26, 1965. A Republic governed by President and parliament (Majlis) was proclaimed on November 11, 1968. There are no political parties or trade unions in the Maldives. The country has two daily newspaperes, one weekly magazine and one monthly magazine.

Fisheries and tourism are the biggest industries, the former empoloying 45 per cent of able-bodied population. 58 islands have been reserved for tourism. Shipping is another source of currency earnings. Over the past ten years the average per capita income has doubled and is officially estimated at 359 dollars. According to local figures, there were 3,828 TV sets, 2,965 telephones, 401 cars, 1,241 motorcycles and 16,681 bicycles in the Republic in 1987.

The Republic of Maldives follows a policy of non-alignment, it has become a member of the nonaligned movement in 1976. It supports stronger international security, favours making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and the expansion of regional cooperation. It is a member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

Maumoon Abdul Gayoom



On November 11 Maumoon Abdul Gayoom was sworn in as President of the Republic of Maldives for a third time. He was born in 1937 and graduated from Al-Azhar University in Cairo where he studied Islamic theology, law and phiolosophy. He took a post-graduate course at the American University in Cairo.

For some time he taught Islamic law and philosophy at a university in Nigeria and then entered the civil service at home. In 1976 he was the ambassador of his country to the U.N. and went on to become Transport Minister.

In 1978 he was elected President and was subsequently re-elected in 1983 and 1988.

He has a reputation in his own country for a style of government that is more open and democratic than Islamic fundamentalist rule. The latest coup attempt, the third during his rule, was by far the most serious one.

re well trained, but they failed to eak into the HQ. They stopped firing us later on, but the fighting in the eets of Male continued unabated. I ne a mistake then, I sent three men t on a reconnaissance mission and of them were shot dead, barely one ndred metres away from the HQ." (It nspired later that some 30 people re killed.)

The attackers managed to take over e radio station and TV centre, some vernment offices and the Presidential lace, but the President had already caped to a safe and well-guarded ace. Luckily for the Maldive authorities, the attackers failed to cut international telephone lines. In the orning of November 3 the Indian government received a telephone message m the Maldives requesting immediate military help. Similar messages re sent to Maldives representatives Colombo and New York. At 9 p.m. e same day the first plane carrying dian commandos landed at Hulule port.

The Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandi gave this explanation for the move eaking in Parliament a day later. He d that the Maldives is a peaceful nan that has no army of its own. Its esident was elected democratically d enjoys broad popular support. nce the Maldives is one of India's arest neighbours, Prime Minister Gandhi said, and the situation there took a grave turn, the Indian government felt duty bound to repel the threat to the sovereignty and democratic system of the Maldives with which it maintains most friendly relations. Action was taken promptly.

The putschists clearly did not expect India to intervene. They acknowledged later that the arrival of the Indian troops took them by surprise. They began to retreat even before the Indians crossed a two-kilometre stretch of the ocean separating the airport form the capital. About 50 of them commandeered the Progress Light, a 5,000-ton freighter, and sailed toward Sri Lanka with 27 hostages, the Transport Minister Ahmed Mujuthaba among them. The Progress Light was spotted by an Indian reconnaissance plane and two Indian naval frigates intercepted it some 100 kilometres away from Sri Lanka's shores on November 6.

Meanwhile the Indian troops and Maldive security forces mounted a mopping up operation in the capital and arrested another group of conspirators. The rest are hiding on other atolls. A search operation is under way.

President Gayoom, 51, wearing an elegant blue safari suit, looked absolutely unperturbed by the attempted coup as he appeared at a news conference to announce that the conspirators had been arrested and twenty hostages set free. Four hostages were murdered and three are missing. The President would not be drawn on the whereabouts of his hiding place. He smiled and commented that had the conspirators known about it he would not have had the pleasure to meet the newsmen now. On a more serious note he expressed his profound gratitude to the government of India for its timely and effective assistance to the people of the Maldives. He emphasized that

A newly built modern elementary school attended by over 54,000 young Maldivians

this made it possible to avoid further bloodshed and more casualties among the civilians.

The situation in the country returned to normal relatively rapidly. All government offices have reopened, all businesses are working, and powerful loudspeakers mounted on minarets carry muezzins' calls for prayer.

On November 11 a ceremony was held to swear Maumoon Abdul Gayoom in as the country's President for another five-year term. Understandably, there were no festivities this time.

The bullet-ridden walls of the National Security HQ and the principal mosque of Male and patrols in the streets are the only reminders of the dramatic events that took place. There is an occasional expolosion, but it causes no alarm as the Indian troops dispose of the ammunition abandoned by the putschists.

Abdulla Lutfi, a 38-year-old native of the Maldives, residing in Sri Lanka is believed to have been the mastermind of the abortive coup. In the past he owned one of the Maldive islands and his business in Sri Lanka has been smuggling. He and other conspirators are awaiting trial. He told the investigators that he had been lured into the plot by Uma Maheswaran, leader of the Popular Organization for the Liberation of Tamil Eelam (POLTE) who promised him the post of President of the Maldives. He is said to have taken a seat in the President's chair when the Presidential Palace was taken over. We were told that a tiny group of local conspirators were linked to the Tamil strike force. That has been established beyond any doubt.

What is the real scale of the conspiracy? The Foreign Minister of the Maldives Fathulla Jameel told journalists that Abdulla Lutfi and his associates obviously could not have enough funds to launch such a large-scale adventure on their own.

The signs are that it is too early to close that matter.

Sergei Irodov,
our special
correspondent

MALE-DELHI

A test of commitment

A new round of intercommunal talks starts in New York soon

It is said that the problem of Cyprus appears far larger than the island itself. Indeed, it has already occupied the U.N. for 14 years and has been discussed by the non-aligned nations, the European Community and the European Council. Finally, the problem was raised in Moscow at the most recent Gorbachev-Reagan summit.

Cypriot President Georgios Vasiliou and Turkish leader Rouf Denktas resumed contacts last August on the U.N. Secretary-General's initiative. The intercommunal dialogue they started broke an almost three-year deadlock.

In January 1986 the Soviet Union proposed convening an international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the U.N. Denktas, however, objected, with Ankara, evidently, prompting his response. In Nicosia, the Soviet proposal was welcomed.

Anticipating an evasive Western reaction to the idea of an international conference, Moscow said it was prepared to discuss any other suggestion, regardless of who made it. But no answer has been forthcoming so far.

In Nicosia, it is naturally being asked why, if there is support for a conference to discuss a Middle East settlement, there is no backing for a similar approach to the problem of Cyprus?

Subsequently, Moscow took one more serious step, suggesting that the problem be incorporated in the agenda of the U.S.S.R.-U.S. summit. The Americans cold-shouldered the idea.

The problem has immediate relevance for the non-aligned movement, most of whose members are multiethnic states. The island's division into two communities, the abolition of a single united state there, and the continued crisis are setting a very bad example.

Meanwhile, the West European attitude is rather odd.

Each West European country seeks to promote relations with Turkey and has its eye on the considerable market the country affords. But it should be noted that their interest is not confined to economic ties. In general, the West European countries are concerned over Turkey's violation of human rights in Cyprus as well as the observance of democratic procedures in Turkey itself.

Ankara's wish, expressed 18 months ago, for Turkey to enter the Common Market as a fully-fledged member is still being considered.

Now that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. have established closer relations, and the international climate is conducive to settling pressing international and regional issues, the problem of Cyprus should not and must not remain unresolved, as however tiny the flame, there is always the risk that it will grow into a conflagration with very grave consequences. The consensus is that the U.N. Secretary-General's latest initiatives present the only viable approach to a peaceful solution.

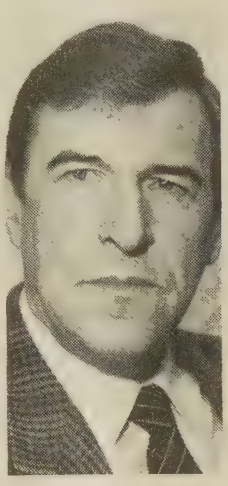
Though the perennial bias, mutual mistrust of the two communities and external influences are hindering and complicating the Vasiliou-Denktas talks, the intercommunal dialogue appears to be the sole option that could lead to a successful solution. All the parties concerned must make their contribution, as the problem of Cyprus is a yardstick whereby the adherence of all states, large and small, to their declarations and principles can be measured.

Michalakis Pantelides,
political editor of
the newspaper
Phileleftheros

CYPRUS

Credit and debit

Sergei Golyakov



How we spend hard currency

"European businessmen and bankers, waving check books and order blanks, are rushing to Moscow to answer the siren song of perestroika," one imaginative journalist wrote recently in The Washington Post. Though grandiose in style, the statement is on the whole true. Indeed, it is a long time since we have seen such an influx of statesmen and businessmen ready to negotiate or sign large contracts.

The volume of commercial deals can be judged from the amount of money West German, British, French and Italian banks are going to lend the Soviet Union, naturally with a profit for themselves. It seems that Austrian, Swiss and Japanese banks do not want to lose such an opportunity either.

According to Western estimates (our departments still keep the size of foreign loans secret), the total sum of credits is likely to exceed nine billion dollars. It is also known from the same sources that the lion's share of this sum will go on the purchase of consumer goods and the equipment to produce them.

Western bankers financing Soviet perestroika? Why not? Lending money is the essence of banking. Money should preferably be lent to solvent borrowers, and the Soviet Union is certainly one such. The New York Times is convinced that the Soviet economy can support a much bigger foreign debt than the country has today.

But let us not oversimplify the matter. "We are not in the business of giving money away to the Soviet economy, nor I think, is anybody else, although they have used phrases that might make it look as though they were," Britain's Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe says. Whom is this reproach addressed to? The U.S. News and World Report writes in a recent issue: "Washington appears more and more the nervous hen whose brood is flirting with the fox."

Washington is calling the disobedient partners to order and is not going to abandon the old rules of the game. The existing restrictions on the export of American technology to the Soviet Union will remain. The hardliners are deeply convinced that the cunning Russian fox will use any economic benefits to strengthen the country's military might.

But Washington's partners are not quite happy about all this moralizing. They point out that the contracts concluded by them with the Soviet Union are mutually advantageous. Besides, the West European countries and Japan suspect that behind the strategic interests the United States is concealing purely protectionist aims.

"Does it help the Western economies to sell goods at an honest profit to the Soviets?" asks François Heisbourg of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. "If so, it may also help the Soviets. But that's what business is all about."

In short, self-interest comes first. And this too gives us food for thought. It is one thing to receive credits and another thing to use them rationally, with the maximum possible economic effect. A smooth system of mechanisms guaranteeing the maximum profit from capital is urgently needed here. However, we do not yet have such a system.

The Soviet Union is perhaps the only country in the world where those who receive and use foreign currency are not obliged to make good the expenses. Doesn't this explain why foreign currency is spent so irrationally and carelessly? In China, a factory that receives modern import equipment must try to turn out competitive goods. Chinese colour TVs based on Japanese technology are exported to many countries. As a result, the expenditure is gradually recouped. How many instances of this kind can be cited in our country? Why not increase their number by drawing cooperators into the process?

With our total shortages and deficits, even billions of dollars can quickly be spent on food. Our appetite could not be satisfied by the huge oil-export earnings we received only a few years ago. When world market prices for oil and other raw materials fell, we began to economize on the purchase of footwear, coffee and essential medicines. However, this expenditure was negligible in the total volume of imports. The priority is clearly given to machines and other equipment.

But where is the guarantee that the cases occasionally shown on television will not be repeated? A complete set of equipment ordered for a new plant arrives at an almost empty building site and is stored there in the open air. The precious equipment rusts, and the millions of marks, pounds or dollars spent on it go down the drain. The general word for that is mismanagement. I think it is also a result of the limited opportunities for society to exercise public control over foreign currency spending.

One of our chronic maladies is the primacy of tactics over strategy, using imports as a stop-gap measure instead of long-term manoeuvring. Economic executives must learn to calculate better. They must be able to look far ahead. I still can't shake off the shock I experienced during a recent Council of Ministers meeting. One department had ordered ten sets of the units it needed, and two weeks later increased the order 240-fold.

New skilled personnel and high standards of work and mana gement are today needed no less urgently than new equipment and technology. It is gratifying that some of the recently concluded contracts provide for the opening of managerial training schools and inviting Western teachers and experts to staff them. The Western businessmen I have met recently pointed to the more fruitful atmosphere in which talks are now held and to the thorough elaboration of our foreign economic programmes. Trust in the Soviet partners is growing, and that makes us happy. Have things begun to move? Will our currency credit and debit finally be brought into the harmony all of us so much want?

Ovations and compromises

What's behind the Conservatives' "unanimity"? Why are Labour having problems?

The 4,000 delegates to the 105th annual Conservative Party conference in Brighton gave Margaret Thatcher an ovation lasting almost ten minutes. The outburst of emotion is unlikely to have been caused by her speech, which was not remarkable for novelty and merely reiterated the usual clichés.

The conference applauds

The delegates were applauding the woman who had led the Conservative Party to victory in three successive parliamentary elections, and they wanted to believe that her name is a guarantee against any troubles in the economy, foreign policy and the struggle against the opposition.

Unquestionably, in Mrs Thatcher the Conservatives have a strong leader. Inside the party, much is being done to create a kind of cult of the Prime Minister.

When the leader appeared on the platform, delegates' faces took on expressions of pious admiration.

Only their sense of modesty led the organizers of the conference to omit open praise of the Cabinet and its policy from some draft resolutions. All other resolutions bristled with such words as "the conference applauds the efforts of the government," "welcomes," "congratulates," etc.

The participants did indeed applaud, welcome and congratulate. True, there were some speakers who began by saying that they had critical remarks to make on the draft resolutions. After a moment of pregnant silence, however, the speaker would explain with a charming smile that he thought the resolution should give more credit to the government. Two or three delegates used that elegant ploy. The audience soon got used to such gambits and applauded as soon as they realized that there would be no surprises.

They were right. Even the "party's darling," Michael Heseltine, the former Defence Secretary ousted from the Cabinet for his excessive patriotism exhibited three years ago in protest against the dollar's invasion of the British Isles, disappointed journalists. Addressing a meeting of the Tory Reform Group in Brighton, he took the government to task for not paying enough attention to the problem of the megalopolises and the growing gap between the rich South and the poor North, but unreservedly supported it on all other issues.

The Tory conference demonstrated monolithic unity, offering the Cabinet plenty of room for political manoeuvre which it was quick to take advantage of. Against the background of the defence debates, which saw some ludicrously outdated clichés about the "Soviet military menace," in her final speech the Prime Minister came across as a forward-looking leader prepared for dialogue with the Soviet Union. She seemed to be saying that while the overwhelming majority of the ruling party were worried about Soviet military superiority and felt that Moscow was not to be trusted, she saw much further and deeper. On the other hand, there was a great show of "unanimimty" on the future supranational political structures of the EEC and combating IRA terrorism.

Labour in search of a way out

The Conservative unity on all issues was in striking contrast with the avalanche of often diametrically opposite views unloosed on delegates to the Labour Party conference in Blackpool. Labour had to seek compromise on practically all the major issues. They did not always succeed. Debates on defence, for instance, clearly revealed a gap between the party elite and the mass of rank-and-file members: the vague formula on multilateral nuclear disarmament was rejected and, much to the disappointment of the leadership, the Labour Party reaffirmed its commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament. Why did this issue cause such heated debates? Judging from the party's recent history, its leadership, once in power, is prone to "forget" its pledges. It was under a Labour government that Britain joined NATO, and worked hard to develop its nuclear weapon, it was the Labour government of Callaghan that implemented the Chevaline programme to beef up the British Polaris nuclear system.

This was not kept secret solely from party organizations and MPs. Even many Cabinet ministers were unaware of the Chevaline Plan, says Ken Livingstone, a member of the National Executive. In the early 1950s the situation was ridiculous: as it has now transpired, Soviet intelligence was well aware of the progress of the nuclear project which was concealed from the party.

The differences that came to a head at the Labour conference reflect mainly the present party leadership's inability to offer defence, economic and foreign policy ideas attractive to both the party's membership and its constituency. In a bid to win the votes of those scared by the "Soviet military threat," Neil Kinnock declared last summer that if it came to power, Labour would not renounce its nuclear forces without some compensation from the Soviet Union. The statement, amounting to a departure from the principle of unilateral disarmament, provoked a storm of protest within the party, forcing the leader to backtrack. As a result, the "manoeuvre" failed to gain plaudits for Labour and lost them several points in the popularity polls.

Mapping out an economic strategy has proved just as difficult. The old recipes, such as the nationalization of leading industries, are unlikely to prove effective, judging from the experience of recent years. Meanwhile new recipes, such as the ideas of a market economy borrowed from the Conservatives, raise doubts as

to the party's ability to offer anything more than an "improved" version of Thatcherism.

So far the Labour Party has failed to come up with a coherent foreign policy. In this field, the approach to Soviet-American relations is crucial. The Conservatives have been committed to a "special relationship" with the U.S. for almost ten years. In the last three years they have sought constructive dialogue with the U.S.S.R., which obviously improves the party's image in the eyes of the electorate. Labour is wobbly on these issues. It cannot throw itself into the arms of the U.S., if only because the U.S. is not always willing to throw its arms open. Memories are still fresh here of Neil Kinnock's Washington trip on the eve of last year's parliamentary elections, when President Reagan spent only a few minutes with the opposition leader, cutting down even on protocol, and thus clearly expressing his attitude to the Labour Party and his unwillingness to have serious discussions with it. As far as relations with the U.S.S.R. are concerned, Labour has to be constantly mindful of the mass media to avoid being tarred with the "Red" brush. This accounts for Labour's indecisive and often contradictory stance on that issue, a stance that is particularly manifest when they are in power.

Today's situation in the Labour Party plays into the hands of the Conservatives, who are backed by less than half the electorate and whose popularity, judging from opinion polls, is steadily declining. While in 1931 fifty-five per cent voted Conservative, the vote has been falling from one victorious electiokn to the next, reaching 42 per cent in last year's elections. The conclusion suggests itself that most Britons are now opposed to Thatcherism, but the majority has no way of expressing itself because the opposition is in disarray.

"The phenomenon of Mrs Thatcher's hold on office has at its heart a simple formula," thinks Robert Harris, the political editor of The Observer. "As long as the opposition remains divided, the Conservatives ride high in the polls. As long as the party rides high, Mrs Thatcher is untouchable."

The Iron Lady on an "iron horse." The Conservative Party boasts of its cast-iron unity...

Surprises of "economic Thatcherism"

Many political observers believe that in the foreseeable future Labour will be unable to overcome its internal discord and come up with an attractive electoral programme. This view seems to be borne out by the fact that the party leadership has to steer its way between the slogans and demands of the various political tendencies within the party – all the way from extreme left to died-in-the-wool right. And there is no question yet of the other opposition parties – the Liberal Democrats and the Social Democrats – being even potentially able to propose a clear-cut and appealing platform. The former are engaged in internal bickering and the latter are fighting for survival. In addition, the two parties are at odds with each other.

Under the circumstances, Labour can hardly bank on success in their contest with the Conservatives. True, the Conservatives' position may be affected by economic setbacks. Contrary to the pledges and assurances of the architects of "economic Thatcherism" (for isntance, Professor Patrick Minford of University of Liverpool) that inflation would go down in the second half of the year, the figures show that it has jumped to 5.9 per cent, which cannot but worry the government. The balance of payments deficit is growing and oil prices are plummeting.

Don't forget that much of Thatcher's success is based on North Sea oil, said political scientist John Ross. This financial foundation of Thatcherism is now being eroded and the near future will show whether the Tories will be able to cope with the situation.

One move seems ready: it is being widely rumoured in the press and at unofficial level that Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson may resign before the next national budget is presented. He would join the twenty-odd ministers already sacked by Thatcher. Cabinet reshuffles, however, are unlikely to solve the real problems. The Tories are casting about for economic rather than administrative remedies.

In the face of growing difficulties, influential Conservative circles and the country's financial bosses seem to be inclined to encourage rather than prevent the strengthening of the Prime Minister's authoritarian power. They would then be able to praise her for skilfully steering the economic ship through the reefs, or blame her for the shipwreck before passing the baton back to the Tory "old guard."

Yuri Sagaidak

LONDON

Photo from Time magazine

Robert Legvold:

To make further progress

Our correspondent in New York asked **Robert Legvold,** the prominent American expert in international politics and Director of the Harriman Institute for Advanced Studies of the Soviet Union at Columbia University, to speak of the prospects for Soviet-American relations after January 20, 1989, when the next administration steps in.

Mr Legvold, how do you assess the present stage of Soviet-American relations? Do you think the change of guard in the White House could bring about another regression in our relations, as was often the case in the past?

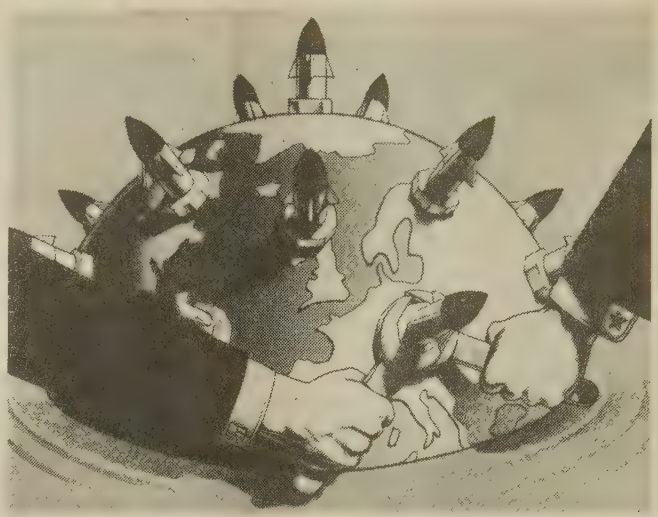
I think that really dramatic changes have occurred in the past two years. In 1986 the transition from the cold war, which had lasted until 1985, began to usher in a new era in the development of Soviet-American relations on a wide range of issues, including arms control.

The fact that both sides displayed the ability and desire to continue the dialogue in an election year is indicative of the intention of our leaders to assure continuity in the foreign policy of the next administration.

I think this intention was outlined by the American and Soviet leaders in February and March this year, and this had tremendous effect on the efforts to elaborate agreements on cuts in strategic offensive arms. We did not start this important demarche only to stop on achieving the first results. Everything we have done this year was in fact aimed at laying down a stepping stone for a continued dialogue.

You spoke of "continuity" in Soviet-American relations. How do you think these relations will develop in the years to come?

I would say that our relations will develop faster. I think a good many people in our countries and in the world will be surprised to see a revived détente which, according to my assessments, will have started in our relations by the early 1990s.



Drawing from The Economist (Britain)

We can expect the conclusion of the START treaty very soon. We can also expect a slower but no less important progress in conventional arms control.

Moreover, we will continue our bilateral dialogue in a number of other issues, for example on the interrelation of the Soviet planned economy with the world market economy, in particular with such international institutions as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund.

How quickly could the dialogue in this sphere develop?

I very much doubt that the Soviet Union will be able to enter GATT in the near future. However, I think that the dialogue that has started between Moscow and Washington will prove constructive and continue to develop.

I also expect dramatic progress in other spheres of cooperation, especially in science, technology and medical care, where we have experience dating back to the 1970s; we could also achieve much in such very special fields as combating AIDS and protecting the environment. We can develop not only bilateral but multilateral contacts as well.

The present stage of Soviet-American relations differs from the détente of the 1970s in the sense that then we concentrated on bilateral dialogue, while today both superpowers are trying to lead the efforts for stepped-up multilateral contacts.

Do you mean cooperation in the U.N.?

Not exclusively. Cooperation in European, Asian and other regional alliances and blocs is of no less importance.

During the election campaign, both candidates often spoke of Soviet-American relations, putting forward quite contradictory statements.

That's a normal election gimmick designed to mislead voters. For example, Bush has been banking on the image of a tough politician advocating a tough policy towards Moscow. At the same time he tried his best to represent his rival Dukakis as a weakling.

What's the real policy then?

The fact is that both candidates actually favour fairly similar policies in dealing with the Soviet Union.

I think Bush is prepared to continue the policy of the Reagan administration and he might go even further in the arms control sphere. He will most probably be developing the constructive dialogue with Mikhail Gorbachev and is likely to compromise over a space-based ABM system.

What are the grounds for such an optimistic outlook? Don't you think your assessment of both the existing situation and longer-term perspectives is a bit too idealized?

No, I think not. To my mind there are three main reasons for the positive development of our relations.

First: the serious, radical changes in the Soviet foreign policy. I would not hesitate to call these changes revolutionary.

Second: for the first time in thirty years our countries have found themselves in practically identical situations. This per-

tains both to the problems we face, the level of our optimism, pessimism and even fear. It also pertains to our ambitions. For the first time Americans and Russians have realized that they both have problems, sometimes quite similar ones. Both sides have realized the limited capabilities of force in international relations and in controlling the processes at work in the world.

Third: I believe that the Soviet Union and the United States learned much from the positive experience of the 1970s and the negative experience of the 1980s. Both of our countries have realized our mistakes and are not going to repeat them, especially at the onset of a new détente.

It should be borne in mind that the peoples of both countries are prepared for the rapid development of bilateral relations. The mutual distrust is of course far from overcome, but the image is changing, and this is reflected in the opinion polls.

What priorities would you define in bilateral relations in the near future?

I understand you to mean disarmament and arms control. My view is that we often make the mistake of confining our relations solely to these problems. The experience of the 1980s shows us that it is in these fields that we have had the greatest disappointments.

I am not going to question the importance of easing tensions and lowering the level of military confrontation. But these problems cannot replace the entire scope of the bilateral relationship. We must take all problems into account. We need a broader agenda.

When it comes to arms control I see problems on two levels.

On the one hand, we must seek to conclude the START treaty as soon as possible without first linking it with progress in the dialogue on conventional armaments, as suggested by the newly elected Vice-President Dan Quayle.

On the other hand, it's time we thought about a new stage in the arms control process, as the START treaty is largely transitional, and does not offer solutions to a host of problems but only creates the basis for further steps in this direction.

The existence of nuclear weapons, which are not likely to disappear in the coming decade, obliges us to have a clear concept of ways of achieving a more secure world with nuclear arms. It's time we started to think in line with this concept, which is to be elaborated with the experience accumulated at the negotiations on strategic offensive arms taken into account.

It is imperative that the concept chosen should be accepted by both sides and not foisted unilaterally.

Interviewer Evgeny Andrianov
NEW YORK

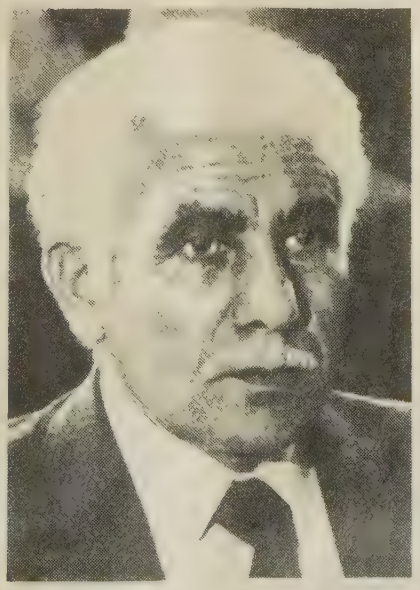
ALGERIA

The verdict of the people

Today life in Algeria has returned to normal. One would think there had been no violent disturbances in early October, and that the authorities had not had to have recourse to emergency measures to restore law and order. It is a fact that they had to employ the security forces and military units against the extremists and crowds of young people they instigated. Both rioters and security men suffered casualties. Many of those involved in the unrest were arrested. The Algerian media widely informed the public on this. When the crisis reached its peak, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria was compelled to summon the French Ambassador in Algiers and hand him a note of protest on account of an anti-Algerian campaign inspired by the French press.

So, the disturbances are in the past. But Algeria is experiencing difficulties. It is impossible to resolve them in the space of a month. Though the country is in a painful situation, the political leaders have appealed to the people to hold a national referendum on a draft of political reforms and changes in the Constitution. On the eve of this event all those involved in the disturbances at the beginning of October were released.

The results of the referendum, which was held on November 3, are now known. The turn-out was 83.08 per cent and 92.27 per cent, i.e., the overwhelming majority, favoured the proposed changes in the Constitution, political reforms and the democratization of public life.



President Chadli Bendjedid: the referendum is the first step, the reforms will be carried on.

Photo from The Middle East magazine

The referendum was the first step towards implementing far-reaching changes in the country. The Algerian paper El Moudjahid writes that the Algerians have said "No" to the monopolization of authority, bureaucracy, nepotism and corruption.

On the eve of the referendum, steps were taken to democratize the activities of public organizations. The Algerian Human Rights League, which is independent of the government, has proclaimed its programme. Professional associations not subject to control on the part of the National Liberation Front party are now being formed and are beginning to engage in activities. Among these are the Algerian Journalists' Union, autonomous student committees, etc.

I must say that the Algerian press is nowadays much more exciting to read. There is more openness, and the bodies concerned are paying heed to what the press says.

Mohammed Belkheir of the Ministry of Information spotted an inaccuracy in my New Times story about the events in Algeria. It turned out that an editor had written in a phrase saying the events caused gasoline prices to soar there. Mohammed Belkheir rang me up to say: "This is wrong. You have glasnost and perestroika. Call the editorial office and tell them to print a denial. This never happened. This never happened at our filling stations."

I had to comply with Mohammed's request.

What next? The day the referendum was held, President Chadli Bendjedid, General Secretary of the National Liberation Front party, said that the party would hold its sixth congress on November 27-28, 1988. The congress will examine part two of the draft of political reforms to submit it again for discussion on a nationwide scale. After the congress another referendum will be held.

Evgeny Bobrov,
our own correspondent
ALGIERS

Three men in a boat

Yuri Starostenko

A little over a year has passed since the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea proclaimed its policy of national reconciliation, calling on all Khmers, regardless of their past political and religious affiliations, to cooperate in building a peaceful, independent and non-aligned Kampuchea.

Many foreign observers at first took this appeal for a propaganda ruse which could not be expected to bring any results. But before long the sceptics had to change their tune. In December of last year Hun Sen, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, travelled to France to meet Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was then President of the so-called "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea." A second round of talks was held early this year. And now this is to be followed by another meeting in November in France, the third in 11 months.

The important thing is that at the present meeting Hun Sen and Sihanouk have been joined by Son Sann, the leader of a Khmer opposition faction. The participants in the negotiations focussed on searching for ways of reaching a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem through the joint efforts of all the Khmer parties concerned.

Since "all parties concerned" are mentioned, the question might arise as to why a Khmer Rouge spokesman (Polpotist) did not take part in the conference? The policy of national reconciliation rules out talks with Pol Pot himself and his closest accomplices, but not with the Khmer Rouge as an opposition faction. Sihanouk's son Norodom Ranariddh told journalists in this connection that an invitation had been sent to Khieu Samphan one of the Khmer Rouge leaders. He had not been found in the Thailand-Kampuchea border area, though, where he should have been stationed, notification of which was conveyed by the Thai Post Office.

The Khmer Rouge, however, made a last-minute attempt to produce "their man" for the meeting, one Ok Sakun, who claims to represent Kampuchea in UNESCO. However, the other delegates did not think Ok Sakun had sufficient weight to take part in negotiations where the country's future was on the agenda. Hun Sen announced, "the boat is leaving without the Khmer Rouge."

For two days the participants managed to discuss many problems on the way to a political settlement of the Kampuchean question. One important result of the talks was the adoption of a joint communiqué providing in part for a standing commission to work out proposals on national reconciliation in Kampuchea. It should be mentioned that the door to the commission stands open for Khmer Rouge representatives too. The commission is to prepare a quadrilateral Khmer summit.

With the Khmer Rouge out so far

It should be noted that as a result of an open exchange of opinions the sides recognized the need for international guarantees for the irreversibility of any decisions adopted on the Kampuchean problem. With this end in view, they suggest an international conference which, apart from representatives of the Kampuchean government, the Khmer opposition, Vietnam, Laos and the ASEAN countries, will also include the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council – the U.S.S.R., the U.S., the People's Republic of China, France and Britain. The idea of convening a conference with the participation of international guarantors had been put forward earlier, too, but the sides had not been able to bridge their differences.

Well, in the two days of the meeting the Khmer bark sailed a long way towards the point of national reconciliation. They could, however, have gone even further had not Sihanouk and Son Sann begun, figuratively speaking, to rock the boat. Despite the accord, achieved at the informal meeting in Bogor (Indonesia), linking the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers with measures to prevent the restoration of the genocidal Pol Pot regime, they once again demanded that the Vietnamese troops be pulled out of Kampuchea before foreign aid to the opposition forces, particularly the Khmer Rouge, is stopped. Accepting this demand could not mean a chance for armed Polpotists to infiltrate Kampuchea. Unless the Khmer Rouge are disarmed, Hun Sen said recently in an interview for Agence France Presse, an uncontrolled civil war would break out there.

Analysts in the ASEAN countries point out that Sihanouk and Son Sann have hardened their positions, though not without external pressure. Li Peng, Premier of China's State Council, who visited Thailand recently, told journalists that China will supply the Khmer Rouge with arms until Vietnam has withdrawn its troops from Kampuchea. Beijing's plans to deploy ammunition depots in Thailand in case its security is threatened give rise to concern in Southeast Asia. Fear is being expressed that Polpotists could obtain free access to these storage depots. During his recent visit to Indonesia Claude Cheysson, the former French Minister of External Relations, described the Chinese stand as a major obstacle to a settlement of the Kampuchean question.

Of course, one can give a variety of interpretations to the positions of the different sides and the forces that back them. One should bear in mind, however, that while the sides talk misfortunes continue to plague the Kampuchean people. The prolongation of tension in Kampuchea runs counter to today's trend towards settling regional conflicts and developing peaceful cooperation between states of different political orientations.

Six months on

Reflections from Kabul

Vadim Okulov

Historians of diplomacy have yet to elucidate the factors that clinched the Geneva Accords. But I think we were inspired by the striving to create a legal and, if you like, moral basis for a Soviet troop pullout from Afghanistan and the establishment of favourable conditions for an inter-Afghan dialogue, that is, for a transition from a military to a peaceful approach to resolving the conflict.

One might surmise that the Pakistan leaders had the contrary aim of creating better opportunities for bringing pressure to bear on Afghanistan with a favourable result for themselves. I would not wish to reproach Pakistan with treachery or our statesmen with oversight, as agreements always entail a compromise, a delicate balancing of interests. The question is whether agreements are honoured conscientiously or used as a cover for the continuation of old policy.

The facts show that the Pakistani side chose the second path. It continued to interfere in the affairs of its neighbours, which is, of course, strictly prohibited by the Accords. Not a single military training centre of the Afghan opposition in Pakistani territory has been closed. Not a single base for the supply of armaments to bands has been removed. The headquarters of anti-government Afghan groups are still located in the same premises in Peshawar.

Pakistan army trucks now deliver U.S. and other armaments directly to the depots of bands deep in Afghanistan. More and more foreign advisers penetrate Afghanistan with such bands. A "caretaker government" created by the Peshawar "alliance of seven" is based in Pakistan. In short, the Pakistani administration is behaving as if the Geneva Accords, of which Pakistan is a signatory, did not exist.

It goes without saying that such an attitude to obligations assumed under a treaty is inadmissible. More than once, the Soviet side explicitly stated this to Islamabad.

As for the world community, it has unambiguously expressed its attitude to the Geneva Accords, and at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the stringent observance and conscientious implementation of the agreements by all parties involved.

Innocent civilians are the target

New factors have appeared in the activity of the armed Afghan opposition over the past six months. It would seem that with the withdrawal of half the Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan and the prospect of a complete withdrawal, the slogans of jihad, "a holy war against infidels," no longer apply. But the Peshawar leaders apparently regard all Muslims in Afghanistan as "infidels." Instead of using the favourable situation that arose when the Geneva Accords were first implemented for ushering in a dialogue with the Kabul authoritiess, the Peshawar leaders are attempting to aggravate tension in Afghanistan and step up their terror against the peaceful population. This is deliberate, though the Peshawar leaders would like to obfuscate their intention. Thousands of ground-to-ground rockets have been brought from Pakistan close to Kabul, to provincial and district centres. The mujahideen launch rocket attacks at residential areas, schools, targeting them on busy crossings, airports. The casualties already run into thousands.

Military success cannot be achieved by such methods. Political success is clearly the aim. The idea is to prove that the Kabul government cannot ensure stability and to rouse indignation in the population.

This has been effective up to a point. But these actions also incite hatred for those who spill the blood of innocent people. "These are not Muslims," people said in Kabul after one bombardment.

I recently attended a trial. Four terrorists who had staged an explosion in a busy trading area in Kabul in September were in the dock. Thirteen people, among them women and children, were killed by the explosion. Forty others were wounded.

While the terrorists stood trial, those who instigated them from Peshawar remained unpunished. Relatives of the victims were sitting on a long bench in the front row. It was as if an unseen wall separated those in the dock from the bereaved families: a wall of hatred and unspoken malediction on the one hand and a wall of fear of retribution on the other. The idea suggested itself that such invisible walls now divide Afghans all over the country – wherever the hope of at last achieving peace and security is being

Civilian targets at gunpoint

crushed by those who crave unlimited power. And while ordinary Afghans have no reason to be pleased with life and, like people everywhere, blame the authorities for this, they have even less desire to be governed by people who kill their compatriots to satisfy their own political ambitions.

Reality and bluff

The policy of national reconciliation being conducted by the state authorities, albeit with difficulty and setbacks, has not been responded to by any political group of the opposition with a positive programme. Kabul's repeated invitations to the negotiating table are invariably rejected by Peshawar. The idea of direct talks by the two Afghan sides in the Islamic holy place of Mecca, advanced by President Najibullah and supported by international Islamic circles, also met with a negative response. Unlike the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) which, taking Afghan realities into consideration, gave up a monopoly on power and created a multi-party political structure, the armed opposition is still determined to rule Afghanistan single-handed.

Meanwhile the armed formations of the Alliance's different groupings vie, arms in hand, for the territories they occupy. Though the efforts of the Peshawar authorities to form a single front should not be disregarded, the contradictions and discord within the "implacable opposition" are likely to be exacerbated still more when they are compelled to pass from piracy to the implementation of a positive programme.

However, the Kabul regime, on the PDPA's initiative, is proposing to the opposition a real way of resolving the problem of the division of power – at a negotiating table with the participation of all the rival forces. It is common sense that only a government coalition that can rely on the main political trends can rule multi-ethnic Afghanistan.

To my mind, it is significant that at a recent session of the National Assembly (parliament) of Afghanistan Najibullah said unambiguously: any Afghan government that fails to take into consideration the realities of Afghanistan's present political system will be doomed to failure. These realities are the PDPA, the Kabul government that is beginning to be a coalition (just beginning so far), the armed forces of the Republic, the existing public organizations.

Indeed, it is only adventurists who have learned to destroy but do not know how to build and have no programme for construction, that can ignore the mechanisms of power operating in the country, and disregard the potential of the PDPA, which at least has the experience of uninterruptedly governing the country throughout this historically crucial decade, even if this experience has not been an unqualified success.

The Peshawar opposition, alas, prefers to reject everything. It looks as if the considerable propaganda efforts aimed at exaggerating its military strength and emphasizing the weakness of the Kabul regime are boomeranging back on the alliance, depriving its leaders of any sense of reality. The few Afghan provinces over which the opposition has established control are not yet a bridge to nationwide power. And bombarding Afghan cities with rockets will not help opposition leaders seize power in Kabul. The Peshawar leaders are evidently susceptible to their own bluff of omnipotence, given the backing of their Western patrons.

Attempts to concentrate strikes at units of the Soviet troops still in Afghanistan show that the Afghan opposition overestimated its potential. It has been warned against such actions more than once. Those of the bands that have not heeded the warning are now encountering retaliation, and not just from Soviet units whose manpower and combat equipment have been renewed within the stipulated limits. At the request of the Afghan side, the Soviet Union is supplying effective military equipment to the republic's armed forces. Its potential is felt wherever the opposition stockpiles weapons and ammunition to launch terrorist activities. Soviet bombers fly on missions.

In order to arrest the rampage of terrorism on Afghan soil, Moscow and Kabul have had to halt the Soviet troop withdrawal, which could have been implemented steadily up to February 15, 1989. I do not think that this is caused by a wish to slam the door before withdrawing according to the schedule set by the Geneva Accords. No, this is a means of more effectively defending Afghan cities and, naturally, of self-defence. It also gives a chance to the Afghan opposition to consider in what degree its aims coincide with its means, and consider whether they should wade to power knee-deep in Afghans' blood, or whether it would be better to share power on a basis of coalition and cooperation.

Here in Kabul the answer to this rhetorical question seems obvious: to subject the country to the dangers of a protracted war means to doom it to self-destruction. Meanwhile, the course of constructive dialogue proposed in the Afghan capital is a shortcut to resolving acute inter-Afghan problems.

It is not rockets, but national accord and peaceful dialogue that can destroy the invisible wall of vitriol and hatred in Afghanistan.

The journalist Vladimir Kuznetsov interviewed the Deputy Chairman of the Patriotic Union (PU), which includes the Communist party, **JAIME CORENA.**

Reports about acts of violence come from Colombia nearly every day. According to the statistics provided by some public organizations in your country, in 1988 alone there have been three thousand political assassinations (two thousand according to official sources). I should like to cite the words of one of my Western colleagues: "Amid the pandemonium of bloodshed, revolutionary sentiments and squaring of accounts it is simply impossible to make out who is killing who." This is my first question: who is killing who in Colombia?

As Gabriel Garcia Marquez said when he received the Nobel Prize in 1982, Europeans will never understand Colombia if they continue to look at it through their gunsights. The situation in our country is very grave. The violence and tensions result from unresolved social and economic problems and from the lack of genuine democracy.

The basic principles of democracy are constantly being violated in Colombia today. Fifteen per cent of the able-bodied population are unemployed. Three hundred children die of starvation daily and about as many of various diseases. An enormous number of people in the cities live it rough and have practically no means of subsistence. Poverty leads to crime. We have many Robin Hoods who rob the rich because of hunger and hopelessness.

But this is the one side of the story that is not connected with politics. Normally a thief has no money to buy grenades or automatic rifles, let alone missiles and helicopters. A thief may have a revolver, but he does not assassinate public figures. Assassination in our country is the job of specialized paramilitary units, however strange the term may sound. Such Death Squads have very efficient communications and intelligence and the proper logistics. They have cars, helicopters, motorboats, guns and even missiles.

Many politicians want to present the assassinations as "settling scores" or explain them as clashes between guerrillas and drug traffickers. That is not true. Within the three years of the existence of our Union, more than 800 of its members have been assassinated. The Union's Chairman Pardo Leal was shot point-

Life at gunpoint

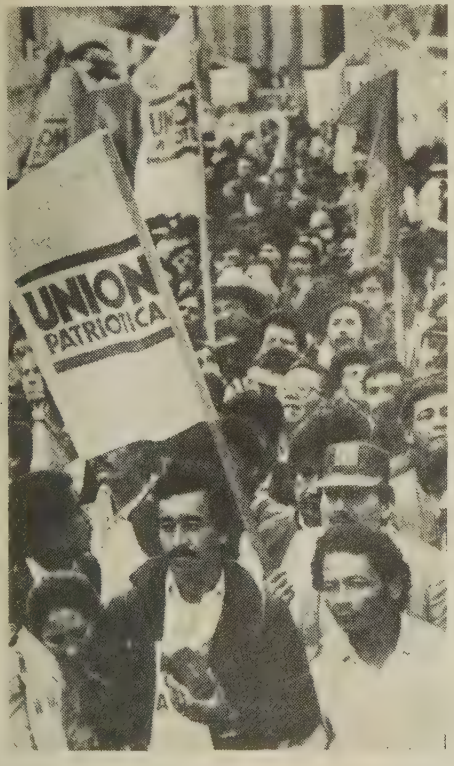
For many years violence has been the scourge of Colombia. The power-thirsty extremists in the country have unleashed murderous terror. Colombia's problems are being aggravated by a big-scale underground narcobusiness.

Blank on October 11, 1987. The ultras kill those who dare to speak the truth. We speak the truth, and people trust us because we are fighting against violence, for peace in the country and for economic, political and social reforms.

Being a member of your Union is obviously very dangerous. Are you afraid?

Yes, we are. Any normal person would be afraid. It is the price we have to pay for our ideals. But we can't allow our fear to grow into panic.

True, danger lies in wait for us at every step. That is why we resolved at one of our recent conferences to take measures to protect our leaders – to provide them with bodyguards and bullet-proof jackets.



A demonstration of the PU supporters

Is drug addiction rampant in your country?

As a matter of fact, there is less of it in Colombia than in the Western world on average and much less than in the U.S.A. As for the production of drugs... You see, coca is as traditional in Colombia as coffee and tobacco; it has been grown there on a large scale for about five hundred years. Incidentally, it grows not only in our country but also in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador. It's been cultivated by about 900,000 people. Coca brings greater profits than bataba and fruits do. That is why a peasant with eight or so small children on his hands chooses coca. And the authorities haven't so far come up with any programme to create new jobs or to replace coca in the market with other kinds of agricultural produce. Our government's policy in this respect is quite similar to that of the United States; both are inclined to use repressive measures.

Needless to say, our Union is against drug addiction. But we believe it essential to work out a comprehensive approach to the problem instead of repressions. To be able to combat the drug trade successfully, it is necessary to provide the 900,000 people engaged in it with properly paid jobs and to eliminate the drug market in the U.S.A., which accounts for billion-dollar deals. Even if the smuggling of drugs from Colombia to the U.S.A. were stopped, they would still be smuggled there from Bolivia, Peru and some other countries. So the American authorities would do better to introduce proper order with regard to drugs in their own country rather than put the whole blame on Colombia and offer, as the Mayor of New York once did, to send their bombers to blitz the town of Medellin which, as you probably know, is the "capital" of the Colombian cocaine mafia.

Is the idea of creating 900,000 new jobs in Colombia in the near future feasible?

Of course it isn't. It would take at least ten years to put it into practice – and that under more favourable economic and social conditions. But relying on repressions alone is equally unrealistic. If repressions continue, a great number of peole will go to live in the selva, which means famine. A terrible social crisis swept La Guajira, a department on the north coast of Colombia where they had grown marijuana, when they began to cultivate hemp in the U.S.A., since the marijuana trade was the only source of a livelihood for many people in the region.

Today neither the left nor the right in Colombia seem to know how to address the drug problem, and it will probably remain unsolved at least till the end of the century. Matters are complicated even more by the fact that the drug dealers have enormous funds. And they also have connections with certain politicians and the police and the army.

According to certain sources, drug dealers in Colombia have about two hundred secret airfields.

I think there are more.

Judging from the press the administration of justice has been practically paralyzed in your country. Could you comment on that?

The impunity enjoyed by the drug magnates is quite a problem indeed. I have just mentioned one of its causes – their great influence. The other cause is that the priests of Themis are constantly being cowed. You know what happens if justice "goes too far" – it has cost dozens of judges their lives. The lower-ranking members of the Bench and the Bar are virtually defenceless.

Quite recently, the President of the republic, Virgilio Barco Vargas, decreed that a commission of the Supreme Court be set up for the investigation of assassinations in the country, but no one of the judges is in a position to get down to business...

Photo from the newspaper Voz (Colombia)

Craftsmen and electronics

Working from home in Japan

We have not yet realized the full extent of the effect of computers on contemporary society. Working on computer displays is no longer confined to intellectuals. Computers are everywhere but they cannot do without man.

Japan started building a new national computerized information network in 1984. The network incorporates a variety of technologies capable of handling data including speech and imagery. All data transmission lines are fibre cables, the data are stored on disks and video cassettes, and mainframe and personal computers are integrated into the network.

There is no longer anything miraculous about this technology, but Japan's new computerized system marks an important breakthrough, and not just in the technological sense. In the nearest future the three whales of the nowaday production – the factory shop, the office and the home – will merge. This will entail a new and radical improvement of the personnel management system at every level and therefore mark a new stage in Japan's economic development.

It may seem at first glance that the network is fully computerized and therefore does not need a human operator (an automatic control system is a case in point) but in fact it is geared to the human operator.

For instance, the production of integrated circuits at electrical engineering factories in Japan resembles the way oil refineries operate. Raw materials are fed into the production line at the input, and integrated circuits are obtained at the output, but the quality of the end-product depends entirely on the performance of young female workers. Even where production is fully automated, the attitude of the work force to the work is crucial. Japanese managers value the psychological climate in a work team more than any package of equipment, however productive. That is why across-the-board computerization is incorporated into a "humanized model" of management.

The prominent Soviet psychologist Boris Lomov has pointed out that comprehensive mechanization and automation of labour increase the significance of data handling and decision-making, reduce physical strain and make greater intellectual and emotional demands on the operator. The amount of data that has to be handled is growing. Uncertainties are increasing and decision-making is impeded as a result. The managerial system ultimately faces the choice of either increasing the number of managers or introducing a new technology. Japan has chosen the latter option. Work places and managerial centres, and the entire managerial and production environment are becoming computerized. Fully automated offices are appearing.

The Japanese call them "clever homes." The amount of spending allocated for promoting the computerization of offices between 1988 and 1995 runs to tens of trillions of yen, that expressly testifies to the important role of them in Japan's future. The 40-storey office block in Shibaura in Tokyo cost Toshiba 40 billion yen. The office uses automatic service facilities, the latest in office and intercommunication equipment, and is literally stuffed with computers.

Information technology is becoming part and parcel of Japan's life: 40-screen display on Tokyo railway terminal.

Photo from magazine Photo Japan

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An ultra-modern business, scientific and technological data-processing centre – a cluster of office blocks – is going up on the drained section of the Tokyo Bay.

The centre will be used by financial institutions, commercial firms and representatives of overseas investors who will attract suppliers of data for R&D companies, government and private offices, and private users. One hundred thousand people are expected to be employed by the Tokyo centre, twice as many as are employed in the business district of Nishi-Shinzuku, where Tokyo's most impressive skyscrapers are situated. Over the next decade there is likely to be a large-scale redistribution of labour from production to management. The number of human operators in factory shops will be continuously dwindling.

The content of labour is going through an irreversible change in Japan, as more and more computers are employed. According to some estimates, by the year 2000 one in three employees will work from home. Information technology will enable white-collar workers to stay at home and work on their computer terminals. That trend began in Japan back in the 1970s.

In 1984 the company Nippon Telegraph and Telephone organized a full-scale campaign to advertise the advantages of information services. Large-scale experiments were conducted in Tokyo and its suburbs, as well as in other cities. The public fully appreciated the convenience of programmes enabling them to regulate their budgets, shop, follow the media and work in the home using a computer.

The "home bank" programme makes it possible to pay for utilities, remit various payments and control savings from the home. The "shopping" programme results in greatly reducing the time of going shopping. A housewife can switch on her personal computer and scan the list of goods available for sale and order whatever she needs on the home computer. The order will be delivered strictly on time. The "electronic newssheet" programme gives access to various media reports and news stories.

The "work at home" programme should be discussed in detail. More and more people in various professions will be working from home in the future. A specific practice of managing homeworkers is taking shape – and so is the homeworkers' mentality hitherto unknown in Japanese culture. Many companies require that their employees spend 40 hours a week at the terminals of their home computers, 2-3 hours in the morning and 2-3 hours in the evening daily. They can spend the rest of the day as they please. During working hours they get instructions and assignments.

Working in the home is believed to offer a number of advantages over conventional methods of organizing labour. It makes for a better territorial distribution of the work force. Given a reliable system of communications, it is of no importance how far away an employee may physically be from the head office. A professional residing in Hokkaido, for instance, can be employed by a company situated near Tokyo. The new employment trend is expected to reduce the burden on urban and commuter transport in and around Tokyo at rush hours.

The new system makes it possible to employ retired and disabled people and housewives who have received the appropriate training but cannot travel to the work place. Working in the home creates better leisure and family opportunities.

In principle, the new system of employment should be profitable, but so far it has very often been regarded with caution. Employment that isolates employees from each other runs counter to the national tradition. One of the greatest values in Japanese society is the sense of belonging to a social group or production team. The new system restricts both formal and informal contacts and communication between people and gives rise to mental malaise. Productivity could decline and the motivation to achieve the highest possible quality weaken.

Psychologists have suggested a whole range of procedures for dealing with these problems. Some companies have set up "shops" where those working from home can perform assignments, and others require that their employees working from home spend some time in the office as well. In some cases, these employees are assigned a joint job.

Japanese managers take special care of the social life of their employees. They organize all kinds of social functions in order to get to know their employees better and make the work force more cohesive. The most popular form of such social entertainment is trips. The idea is not really to see the sights, but rather to promote mutual understanding. The company pays most of the expenses and the employees contribute a token sum.

As a rule, trips of this kind are obligatory and many people, tired after a week of hard work, do not really look forward to them, but the attitude to those working in the home is different, because the trips enable them to make up for the lack of informal communication.

Others relax through self-education, which is a tradition in Japan. The advent of computer technology has considerably expanded the opportunities available here. Computers provide access to practically every source of information: all you have to do is to put in the appropriate programme. The computer builds a model of the student and tailors the training course to his or her ability. The former doctrine in accordance with which one was supposed to content oneself with one profession as lifework is being relegated to the background. The Japanese will be getting training in several professions in the future. According to forecasts, those arriving on the labour market at the turn of the century will change their professions several times in the course of their lives.

Ivan Ladanov,
D.Sc. (Economics)

Vladimir Pronnikov,
D.Sc. (History)

A man who can say No

Academician **Roald SAGDEYEV** interviewed by our special correspondent Mark Levin

Strategic changes should be made today in our model of socialism, and our doctrine should look ahead to the more distant future. During this period we should be able to bring about a fundamental improvement in our country and show that our model of socialism is effective.

Politicians, economists and sociologists are thinking about this issue today. That should also be the goal of perestroika in our fundamental and applied sciences. This perestroika is being widely discussed. However, real changes so far are negligible. Fortunately, people can now talk freely about their needs. Glasnost, a certain degree of openness, and some elements of democracy have become a reality, though we still have to learn how to use them.

Can strategic and current objectives be linked in some way or other?

That would be a good thing. Perhaps it explains why long-term and pressing tasks are often lumped together, and scientists are often rebuked for allegedly doing nothing to help improve the quality of life as soon as possible.

Is it a just rebuke?

It is explained, in my opinion, by the lack of understanding between groups of people working for the successful attainment of strategic and of current goals. Perhaps science is not needed to alter the traditional course of our country's economy. It would simply be enough to make the course sensible...

...and straightforward...

And straightforward. We must abandon the conventional but absurd and at times stupid ways and means of developing our economy and society as a whole. Vladimir Kabaidze's speech at the 19th National Party Conference is significant in this respect. "Why don't you help us?" this distinguished industrial manager asked scientists. He cited South Korea as an example. There is not a single research institute there, but industry is growing so rapidly that South Korea has become one of the ten states that can dictate their terms on the world high-tech market.

Perhaps our science will be unable to guarantee such rapid growth in a short time. In fact, the above-mentioned strategic objectives are not within the province of large-scale research. The aim of large-scale research is to build a reserve that will feed our country and its economy with fundamental ideas for a long time to come. These ideas should form the basis for the long-term development of our society.

By declaring that science is under an obligation to society, people often cite examples from everyday life. The facts speak for themselves, of course. But they also show that science itself was a victim of the same excessive bureaucratization that afflicted our society as a whole. On the other hand, Soviet science, subservient to higher authorities, was often guided by political considerations of a transient character and, taking advantage of its great authority, approved worthless, even dangerous projects. We might recall here decisions to "remake nature" that have already caused immense damage to our ecology.

You've said that by virtue of its authority science approved unscientific decisions. And what about the honour and conscience of the scientists themselves?

You know, the degeneration of moral standards took place quietly and imperceptibly. The ruling elite only promoted "scientists" they approved of, those opportunists who, prompted by careerism, were prepared to endorse any decision. Special vacancies were created for these "scientists" during elections to the Academy. True, thanks to the principled and vigorous stand of genuine scientists, the promotion of such careerists was sometimes checked. But that only happened when scandalous facts came into the open. On the whole, moral standards were gradually eroded in our science, and its standards naturally declined.

This process had an adverse effect on young scientists, didn't it? Weren't their moral standards also eroded? Scientists who began their careers in the stagnation period will continue to work in their fields in the early 21st century, and our future depends on them to a great extent. Is there any cause for hope then?

It seems to me that young scientists, and young people generally, do not now have much faith in their elders and senior colleagues or in the possibility of really creative work. However, they learn to adapt to the new situation, and before long office seekers appear among young people. They often start their careers in Young Communist League, trade union and Party organizations, gradually becoming heads of small and then big departments. This process is being widely discussed now, and the incipient renewal of Soviet society concerns everyone, including young scientists.

Speaking at the National Party Conference, Vladimir Kabaidze, whom you've cited above, asked what hundreds of thousands of scientists were doing in Moscow?

I think the number should be made more exact. Hundreds of thousands working in the field of science constitute the personnel of all the institutes, organizations and enterprises associated with research and develop-

Academician Sagdeyev at the 11th session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet
Photo by Leonid Poroshkov

nent. To my mind, at least 70 per cent of them are employed in institutes and factories that are considered special and the veil of secrecy over them has not yet been lifted by glasnost and democracy. One of the main dangers lies here, because the degeneration of our science began for the most part in an area where glasnost and democracy are minimal. It is also the area where the biggest investment is made.

The question of glasnost in investment and expenditure has been decided in principle. Mikhail Gorbachev firmly declared some time ago that the military budget and military expenditure would be made known to the public. It will then be able to judge whether the huge military spending is necessary, to what extent it serves to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole, and to what extent it facilitates the growth of arbitrariness and careerism. The objective laws of development of military-industrial complexes in capitalist states obviously operate in the Soviet Union too. Otherwise, they would not be objective.

It appears that concern for defence potential favoured the spread of arbitrariness, excessive organization and bureaucracy in science. All this was explained by the desire to strengthen the country's defence at any cost.

It should be said in all fairness that the desire to strengthen the country's defence was justified by necessity, as we had more than a few enemies at one time. For a long time the international situation did not permit the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to bring about a complete unilateral disarmament. That is obvious. Nevertheless, it is difficult even to imagine the degree of arbitrariness in the field we are talking about. Today we are discussing arbitrariness in spheres open for all to see, such as industry and agriculture. We should therefore be especially concerned about the possibility of arbitrariness in a sphere closed to the public.

How can such a possibility be countered?

To the extent that the regime of state secrets allows – and this regime is certainly impossible to ignore – unbiassed experts could be allowed to verify projects envisaged by one or other item of the military budget, up to the examination of research and development work in a given field.

This is not an entirely new idea. We can judge and even qualify as dangerous some new projects in capitalist states. This means they have a certain degree of openness in the military sphere, whereas in our country openness is simply nonexistent. It is hardly surprising that thanks to the atmosphere of openness quite a number of very important strategic concepts limiting the unbridled growth of military-industrial complexes have appeared in the West.

We are proud of the role we played in the conclusion of the ABM Treaty. It is perhaps the most important accord restricting the buildup of strategic armaments. But it should be admitted that it was American experts who first advanced the concept that strategic defence could prove a destabilizing factor and, moreover, a highly dangerous one. So I think what is needed above all in this sphere is openness, within reasonable limits, of course.

If we want to ensure such openness, it is necessary to enhance the role of parliament and carry out the proposals and measures advanced at the 19th Party Conference, in particular, the measures to increase the role of the Soviets and the proposals to change the role of the Supreme Soviet. This will enable competent parliamentarians to head the work of examining military activity. It will be a concrete example of glasnost and democracy.

When you spoke at the Party Conference about the need to replace high-ranking officials in their posts every ten years, I thought you were jeopardizing your own chances, because there was no guarantee that you would remain director of the Institute of Space Research. But subsequent events showed that you did

not try to retain this post and conceded it to your colleague.

At the Party Conference I proposed to go even farther: not only to limit the term of service in high office to ten years, but also to count in the previous term of such work. My proposal was not accepted. I submit to party democracy and will abide by the conference's decision, but I had every right to resign from the post of director I had held for 15 years. I think that in research institutes, especially in such a large institute as ours, 15 years of work in the same office is a pretty long term. A new man will certainly see more than a few shortcomings. If my successor decides to readjust the work of the institute, I am prepared to give him immediate help.

My long-time desire was to work on some extremely interesting scientific problems, not as an organizer but as a scientist.

Conducting space research for so many years, you naturally realized that space science is closely linked with military problems and that the results of your space exploration will not necessarily make people happier. On the contrary, they could lead to the extinction of mankind in space wars. So the question posed by Einstein stood before you more poignantly. How did you answer it for yourself?

I realized, of course, that space technology, many of its components in any case, can be used unchanged for military purposes. The booster vehicles, electronic devices and computers used in space exploration can also be used for space spying. I think every scientist should answer this question for himself in a new way of his own.

I consider myself lucky, because almost all my work – not only in space research, but also my previous research in plasma physics and controlled thermonuclear fusion – was connected with international projects. Our work favours the consolidation of scientists, not confrontation between them, though we live in very different states. It is the principle of open laboratories Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about two years ago, a system that helps remove suspicion between people from countries with different social systems. I could watch how international cooperation between specialists in the above-mentioned fields was developing.

What impelled you to write a letter to Moscow News calling on the supreme authorities to restore justice with regard to Academician Sakharov and return his awards to him?

Many years ago, as a student writing my graduation thesis, I happened to do practical work in the organization where the theoretical department was headed by Academician Sakharov. My subject concerned models of intra-stellar processes such as energy transfer and radiation. You know, this circumstance made me think that the scientists who played a decisive part in securing the defence parity of our country at a crucial moment had not forgotten about peaceful research either. They effectively coped with their formidable task and perhaps saved the world from another global conflict.

Sakharov, Zeldovich and other scientists from that organization have become authorities not only in the military-related fields of science, but also in astrophysics and cosmology. I think that the moral charge I received then influenced my subsequent life. As a physicist, I had an opportunity later on to watch how Andrei Sakharov progressed in his scientific work. One of his works dealt with controlled thermonuclear fusion. Together with Academician Tamm, he to some extent anticipated the idea of Tokamaks, in which I became directly involved as well. I also deeply share Andrei Sakharov's views on the arms race and other issues of concern to all mankind. His life has not been an easy one...

...and the circumstances were not always auspicious for him...

That's right. The government did well to allow Sakharov to return from his exile in Gorky. But reservations existed and justice had not yet been fully restored. Reflecting on this unhappy state of affairs, I decided to write a letter to Moscow News: the public should know of the reservations concerning Academician Sakharov. All his awards have now been returned to him, and he has been elected to the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences.

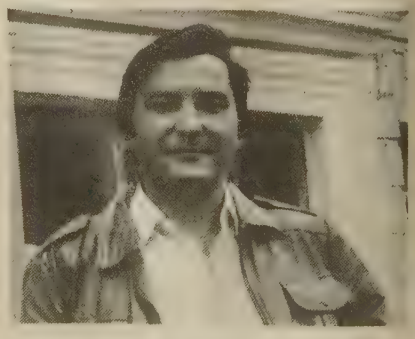
And it was Roald Sagdeyev who put forward Andrei Sakharov's candidature instead of his own. Thank you for the interview. ■

N.T. GUESTS

A candidate for the Guinness Book of Records

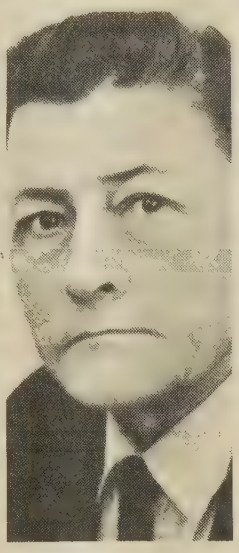
In the early 1970s Christian Pagneux made up his mind to get to know more about a country he was interested in, the Soviet Union. He set about collecting all Soviet publications printed in French to which he could subscribe in the small town of Beaurepaire near Lyons where he works at the Rhône-Poulenc chemical company. It occurred to him to enter the contests for knowledge of the Soviet Union run by some Soviet newspapers and magazines. He began to put his idea into action and in 1980 won first place in the competitions organized by Soviet newspapers Moscow News and Kultura i Zhizn. In 1988 he was the winner of the New Times and Sputnik contests. And each time the prize was a tour of the Soviet Union. On the New Times and Sputnik tours alone he visited Tbilisi, Vladimir and Suzdal, Irkutsk and Volgograd. On two other occasions he came to the Soviet Union as a tourist, and until recently a camera was his constant companion. This year Pagneux has come with "a new gadget," capturing his impressions on videotape. "This way is more convenient," he explained, taking pride in the six-hour film he has shot during his stay here.

Christian has visited New Times. "I think I deserve a mention in the Guinness Book of Records," he told us. "I have won all the competitions... On the one hand I am happy, on the other sad because I won't be able to come here again as a contest winner." We had to disappoint him by saying that at least one more competition is held here – at Moscow Radio – so the record has not been broken, but he has another chance to visit the U.S.S.R. Now he will have to buy a radio and answer more questions. We are sure that he will do it and we hope he will come as a winner again. Then the compilers of The Guinness Book of Records will have to think seriously about giving him a mention.



The dialectics of perestroika

Vitaly Ganyushkin



The more our reality deserved criticism, the more severely its critics were persecuted. Even in brighter days openness was adulterated with a witch's brews of beneficial and harmful herbs concocted by cunning alchemists and offered to the initiate behind closed doors.

Today's glasnost is the authentic openness of perestroika. It has dismantled the propaganda scaffolding in which our grand construction project was enveloped. People gasped upon realizing that the project had been implemented with disfiguring blemishes. We might well have thrown up our hands in despair. However, we had the courage to undertake the restructuring we call perestroika. We began by taking penetrating and critical stock of both the project itself and what had been achieved to date which would have been entirely proper had it not been for...

Had it not been for our national character, which has always tended to go to extremes. It seems to me that our criticism, while purging us of the past, has broken its banks and carried away much that is good. People are concerned. In their letters to the media, including those to New Times, they note that there seems to be no light at the end of the tunnel, that glasnost is nothing but self-flagellation.

Surely we should pause to reflect that it can't all be black and that there must be white too, if not indeed all the rest of the spectrum. Surely we should get a full picture of life, both the good and the bad, in the course of the drastic changes that are taking place. Isn't there a danger of our making a mess of perestroika? Considerable intellectual potential now appears to be focussed on that aspect of things. The truth is that it is easier to demolish than to build.

Don't take this to mean a nostalgic hankering for the measured criticism of yore. Criticism and self-criticism should be and are becoming the rule for more than just Party and Komsomol members. It is developing into a way of life for all of us. In our criticism in both the temporal and spatial dimensions, we must not overlook a single blank spot. We must ruthlessly censure all and everything, whether an inherited survival from our shameful recent history or an error committed in the process of perestroika itself.

Still, the dialectics of the struggle, the very fact of taking the hurdles, lends hope. True, we haven't enough grounds for fanfaronade – a practice which, one hopes, is gone never to return. There may be much that we have failed to see. But we shall never again indulge in such propaganda as a real revolution has taken place in our mentality. To try to reject the realization of the vital need for perestroika is definitely not to be compared with the attempt, which was once seriously contemplated, to reverse the flow of the broad-bosomed rivers of Siberia. What we need to do is to be more energetic in consolidating the irreversibility of the new thinking.

Yet, isn't it high time for us now to carry out a revolution in what we do and not just in what we say?

Drama with a note of optimism

In this respect, much would still seem to be only getting underway. We now need to square up to the full dialectic of this revolution in action, and this is far more complex, insofar as it must be done everywhere and every day. Currently the forces of perestroika, drawing on the full measure of the leverage available, are advancing the cause of perestroika in the priority area of our daily bread. More often than not they are forced to grapple at virtually every level with the mechanisms and advocates of inertia. However, they have inched forward against the odds, even though the losses are still great.

Perestroika has stirred up creative ideas in millions of minds and got millions of hands to venture into creative endeavour. Today not only our Party in the persons of its far-sighted members, but supporters of perestroika of all ages and callings are not only jettisoning all that is obsolete and superannuated, they are also showing creative initiative in advancing the restructuring of our socialist way of life. This is attended by the drama of conflict, when not only strategic material resources, but at times even human destinies are at stake. The drama, though, has its note of optimism, as innovation beats back inhibition. It would simply be unfair not to champion the efforts of all honest people who are pioneering with due responsibility the uncharted terrain of perestroika. It would be wrong not to follow in their wake, as it would also be wrong not to give due credit to those who in the past were unable to tolerate the stagnation.

Today's priority is the practical side of perestroika – although the search for the theoretical or journalistic side is not to be excluded. The really creative motive forces of perestroika are generated today by all those engaged in their own jobs, in their own environments, in putting together the mechanisms of the new economy, democracy and glasnost. Indeed, wherever these new mechanisms begin to function, we see the creative programme of perestroika emerging tried-and-tested into reality.

It is this complex dialectic of getting the mechanism of perestroika to operate in our daily life that should win out, as I see it, in our mentality and, consequently, in our actions, as otherwise we may be bogged down by an inferiority complex and even the finest minds will feel inhibited and the most industrious hands drop in despair.

Initiative versus inertia

However impassioned our debates may be about the past and our attitude to history, the present day is the subject of still more heated discussion. The morality and openness of society depend not only on a bold assessment of the past, but also on an honest and principled discussion of the present and the future.

I don't think the analysis of our complex and dramatic past is anywhere near completion. It needs to be deepened and expanded, and from personalities one must pass on to social conflict to reveal the roots and motive forces of the events that have shaped the country at various stages. This is all the more necessary as many scholars, journalists and artists have recently been going round in circles without any further advance. There is a real danger that perestroika and indeed the decades preceding it will be drowned in verbiage.

The present must take priority in social consciousness and in search of the truth about socialism. This is not prompted by pragmatic considerations alone. It is true that one cannot assess the present or the future without a knowledge of the past. Yet it is equally true that our retrospective appraisals of our history can only be convincing if we prove the advantages of perestroika in practice and take an unblinkered view of its achievements, omissions and contradictions. So the thirst to know what is happening to us and where we are going is at least as great as our interest in the "blank spots" of history and in recently published documents. But our social psychology and the individual consciousness of both the man in the street and the intellectual avidly reading previously banned publications are still greatly conditioned by waiting for judgements and directives to be delivered by messiahs from lofty rostra.

The difficulty for people wise with the wisdom of yesterday who do not trust their own reason and conscience (and many of them are honest people who sincerely want to contribute to perestroika) lies in the fact that the Party and the government are no longer talking to the people in the language of orders, declarations and commandments. They have deliberately provided scope for alternative approaches, initiatives and creativity that cannot be manifested in the rigid framework of regulations and prescriptions. What a law-abiding citizen used to toeing the line sees as lack of specificity in directives and formulae is in fact the only way to build a relationship between the authorities and the people on a civilized basis. Not only exhortations, but the very conditions of life – of society and the individual – should prompt people to make independent decisions, and assume responsibility for the consequences of their decisions. This is the most reliable way, compatible with the essence of socialism, to increase social activity, put an end to civic apathy and do away with the mass mentality of a "cog" in a gigantic soulless machine directed by the leader's iron hand.

Contradictions, distortions

Very little attention has been paid to what can be said a priori: perestroika too will have its contradictions, and it has no ready-made mechanism for resolving them. Among these contradictions, the following two categories can be identified: those that had come to a head, but been ignored and hushed up in an atmosphere of social apologetics, and those that have cropped up in the actual process of perestroika itself. Perestroika should not be seen as a process directed by a plan in which everything has been assessed, measured and weighed in advance. One could have foreseen from the outset that in many cases reality would not fit in with the forecasts drawn up in the headquarters. But this is not the greatest danger. The chief threat to perestroika comes from dogmatic ideas and actions in our economic and cultural life which stem not from misapprehension but, on the contrary, from a perfectly understood interest on the part of a social group. The resistance of the bureaucracy, which is a proponent of such an interest, is a direct consequence of perestroika and, objectively, a factor that prompts the activization of its motive forces. In order that the new social organism engendered by perestroika, one that will thrive or fade away together with it, be formed and consolidated, we need not only clear-cut democratic slogans but a clear understanding of the position and potential of the conservative forces. In my opinion, assertions that "there is no alternative to perestroika" and that "there is nowhere to retreat to" are somewhat flimsy. The alternative to freedom, glasnost, democracy, culture and respect for the individual is not confined to the imagination of pessimists alarmed by the lessons of the past.

The decisive argument of the conservatives today is that democratization, glasnost and the new social movements have so far failed to bring about the expected change in the economy and improvements in living standards.

Indeed, the process of democratization and of releasing the creative potential of the people and expanding opportunities for their self-expression is proceeding unevenly in different areas of social development. On the one hand, we see profound changes in intellectual life, outlook and the availability of information. On the other, against the background of the collapse of long-established stereotypes and ideas of what is and what is not permissible, the lag becomes particularly apparent in the decisive area of perestroika, namely, social production and the economic relations in which the mechanism hindering perestroika resides and is particularly active. The voices of economists are full of alarm. We all remember the speech delivered at the Party Conference by Leonid Abalkin, Director of the Institute of Economics of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Bunich warns that the economic barometer points to an approaching storm.

The discrepancy between the unpre-

cedented scale of political and intellectual freedom and the new public consciousness and work conditions that offer only restricted opportunities for creative self-expression gives rise to sharp collisions which are further aggravated by the problem of queues, the low quality of medical care and the backwardness of the services sphere. Herein lies the main contradiction of the present stage of perestroika. Today even people far removed from methodological discussions understand that neither democracy nor glasnost can in themselves make perestroika irreversible. Only a drastic overhaul of social production and economic relations can ensure that perestroika's ultimate goals are achieved.

There is nothing new in this statement. Perestroika must draw a clear distinction between those problems that can only be resolved through profound changes in the productive forces and productive relations and those that depend on consciousness, political awareness and greater knowledge.

Then the arguments of the conservatives will automatically collapse. It will be easier to combat another danger: today many people think it is possible to bridge the gap between the pace of economic and intellectual change by "holding back" glasnost, self-government, and limiting the pluralism of social debate. It is enough for newspapers and magazines not to publish revelations or attacks on the nomenklature for a day or two for people to become worried: doesn't it signify an end to perestroika?

Today the whole country is discussing what the future monument to the victims of Stalin's repressions should be like, people are raising money for its construction and the Memorial society has been founded. And yet only recently the young men and women who collected signatures to an appeal for the building of the monument did so almost illegally.

Our citizens have now learned to distinguish between a newspaper article and an article in the criminal code, which alone is not susceptible to a plurality of interpretation. Fewer people today are convinced that social polyphony and pluralism inevitably lead to polygamy. But it is worth recalling that such a perspective has been used to frighten the flabby away from communist ideas, since these first appeared.

A lot of work has still to be done to assert human dignity and individuality, without which a creative social attitude is impossible. In a television talk show an elderly university teacher is asked about his attitude to the proposal to rename the university in which he works and which still bears the name of one of the heroes of Stalin's guard. The teacher is all for these proposals, but he constantly invokes the university rector whom he invariably refers to as "our boss," "our leader."

To take another example. A space-bridge dialogue of Soviet and Japanese women. The moderator asks the Soviet women: "What is always uppermost in your mind?" The first woman to be confronted with that question hesitates but then replies cheerfully: "Home, family, work." Now all of them are happy to repeat the formula – you see how united we are, we all think alike. When the same question is put to the Japanese women widely reputed to be modest and eager to do what is expected of them, they reply each in their own way, each speaking of her own problems.

Technological emancipation

More and more people are calling for radical economic measures. They believe the answer lies in dismantling the system of planned, especially sectoral, control of the economy, and encouraging tough competition, without stopping short of the mass closure of unprofitable enterprises, unemployment and free market pricing. The radicalism of these people is prompted not so much by abstract ideas on political economy as by the alarming fact that the economic reform is marking time, by the ineptitude and, more often, reluctance verging on sabotage on the part of the government departments to carry it forward. In the struggle between the armour and the bullet – the trends towards economic independence and initiative and rigid managerial control – serious analysis is needed to determine which forces are in the ascendant.

The barrage of criticism of the government ministries and departments at Party

Drawing by Rein Lauks

forums, in the press and in everyday life seems to call their very existence into question. Yet, drastic measures cannot be adopted at a time when the economic situation is worsening and industry is not performing satisfactorily – this would be too risky a move. Simple logic suggests the optimal conditions for the survival of the departmental system: the worse the better, as long as the situation remains tense they won't touch us. The apparatus has long learned to manipulate organizational reshuffles and use cuts in the payroll to get rid of undesirables. One can imagine that before long many people will ask themselves: did we really have to wait for the bureaucrats to terminate themselves to meet the spirit of perestroika, or would it have been better, as in Khrushchev's day, to disband the ministries and smash the structure of local government bodies at one fell stroke?

Conservatism is the main problem

I think the economic and political experiments of the sixties testify that determination alone is not enough to bring about radical changes in social life. Administrative reform will not get us very far unless it is based on a new quality of the productive forces.

Inertia in the economic sphere is primarily the result of the technological backwardness accumulating over the past few decades. The technological production base not only falls short of, but often runs counter to, economic, social and ethical requirements of socialism. We have millions of jobs where labour conditions are intolerable, with little opportunity for personal development, where work motivation is distorted and people do not see themselves as real masters of the production process.

The Party has repeatedly stressed that there can be no democracy and no socialism without culture. By culture one must mean not only aesthetic values, but above all the culture of work. Monotonous work at a conveyer belt and the performance of tedious functions are just as much at odds with people's new intellectual aspirations and their ideas of individual dignity as restrictions on democracy on the part of the bosses.

The tenacity of obsolete relations is due in large measure to the fact that production is often at a pre-scientific level. Such production can only be directed by command and it needs a conscientious and slavish worker rather than a creative and innovative one. Man must be liberated not only socially but also technologically if he is to be really free. Of course, the technocrat in computerized production who is to supplant the old-style administrator is hardly an attractive figure. But at the present juncture our main problem is conservatism and the backwardness of the productive forces on which dogmatism in the political and moral spheres thrives. At the same time, unless a drastic change in the system of managing socialist production is effected, it will be impossible to give free rein to the scientific and technological revolution, and to bring together new technology and a professionally competent worker with a high morale. It is not just a question of a change in the structure, the system of financing and incentives, but of a managerial personnel designed to implement perestroika and realize its goals.

Changing the style of economic management is not quite the same thing as replacing personnel. It is true that to eliminate nepotism, apple-polishing, corruption and abuse of power, it is often enough for an honest prosecutor to intervene. But mere force of law and the replacement of old-style managers are not enough to change the situation in the economy, all the more so as many managers have quickly mastered the art of social mimicry and skilful demagoguery which uses the whole arsenal of perestroika slogans.

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Having inherited the dire economic and moral legacy of earlier periods, the planners of perestroika had every reason to say that the priority facing us is not achieving a quality of life and state of the productive forces on a par with that of the most economically developed countries, but the very survival of our society. Hundreds of millions of rubles invested in obsolete industrial projects, the sway of Lysenkoism, arbitrariness, incompetence in agriculture that had brought the country to the brink of a food crisis, land reclamation projects unprecedented in wastefulness and ecological damage over a period of decades – we are having to pay the price for all this today. Some ill-wishers might be prepared to accept with resignation the formula that "in spite of the immense sacrifices we have failed to build socialism." If you adopt that point of view, everything can be forgiven: after all, what can one demand of a country which is only taking its first steps by trial and error.

This an argument as seductive as it is unfounded. Socialist society is a viable and developing one, and we are now bent on accelerating its progress. It is time for everyone to assume responsibility. No one will be allowed to shirk it.

Leonid Goldin
D.Sc. (Phil.)

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Confidence and hope

Dezso Pinter, Hungarian journalist

If I were asked to describe in a nutshell what Hungary is going through at the moment I would answer that it is a time of hope

Indeed, making this statement takes a certain amount of audacity as in this article I claim that my country is experiencing a deep-rooted crisis and that the way out has not yet been defined. I associate my hope, however, with the spirit of the process under way, with its force which is already manifesting itself in a variety of forms, though it has not yet developed to a point at which tangible results are evident.

The people and their leaders are now aware that we have reached a turning point. To all intents and purposes, we are facing the following alternative: either we shall fail to bridge the gap and thus perpetuate it, or we shall have to start catching up with the rapidly developing countries. This point is not disputed in Hungary; the discussion centres on how we should bridge the gap and the cost at which it can be done.

This discussion is not new to our country, but in its content and nature the present debate differs fundamentally from those current some years ago. Formerly the political forums and the press dealt in the main with analyses of possible methods of economic renewal, and the sides only agreed on the point that the country needed acceleration and complex economic reform. But these debates gave no definite indication that the reform could not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon, as an individual sphere of social life taken on its own – the economy – cannot be successfully modernized.

Since Liberation we have made several attempts to renew our economic life but the trends in international politics and the oversimplified view of the unity of the socialist countries impeded any change. The public in our country is not fully aware of the measure of responsibility that is incumbent on the leading bodies and some individuals for reforms that were started but remained incompleted. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has set up a commission to review the history of the Party in recent decades, and this commimsion will presumably establish the degree of this responsibility.

No correct concept

In the early 1970s it became clear that a large-scale development needed new approaches and called for a radical reorganization of the economic structure and the elimination of those activities making for economic losses. The country needed a long-term economic and political concept of radical change. We failed to create an all-embracing concept, and the scheme we did elaborate never developed beyond the theoretical stage. A view prevailed at the time whereby the difficulties caused by the challenge from the world economy could be offset at the cost of several years of indebtedness. External loans, it was thought, would strengthen our economy, and its rapid development would then enable us to pay off the debts.

The loans, however, did not facilitate the economic structure but became a temporary and unreliable means of staving off the oncoming difficulties and inevitable conflicts. The economic policy pursued from 1978 onward concentrated on improving the external payments account and fending off insolvency, which it did efficiently, we must admit. The short-term objectives were correctly chosen but the strategic goal – creating the structural conditions to develop a technologically more modern and flexible economy – was partly lost sight of, nor indeed did we have any resources left to implement it. The programme did not provide for any distinction between the objectives of the state and those of enterprises, and the lack of consistent economic regulation led to disregard for criteria of efficiency.

True, the loans potentially offered great opportunities but their misuse, however, turned them into great liabilities. The size of the debt in itself provides only part of the picture. What is important is not to put your neck in a debt noose. As for Hungary, this point is quite evident. Interest charges and instalments we have to pay annually to meet our foreign debt work out at 65-70 per cent of our hard currency export earnings. To pay this sum we have to secure more foreign loans.

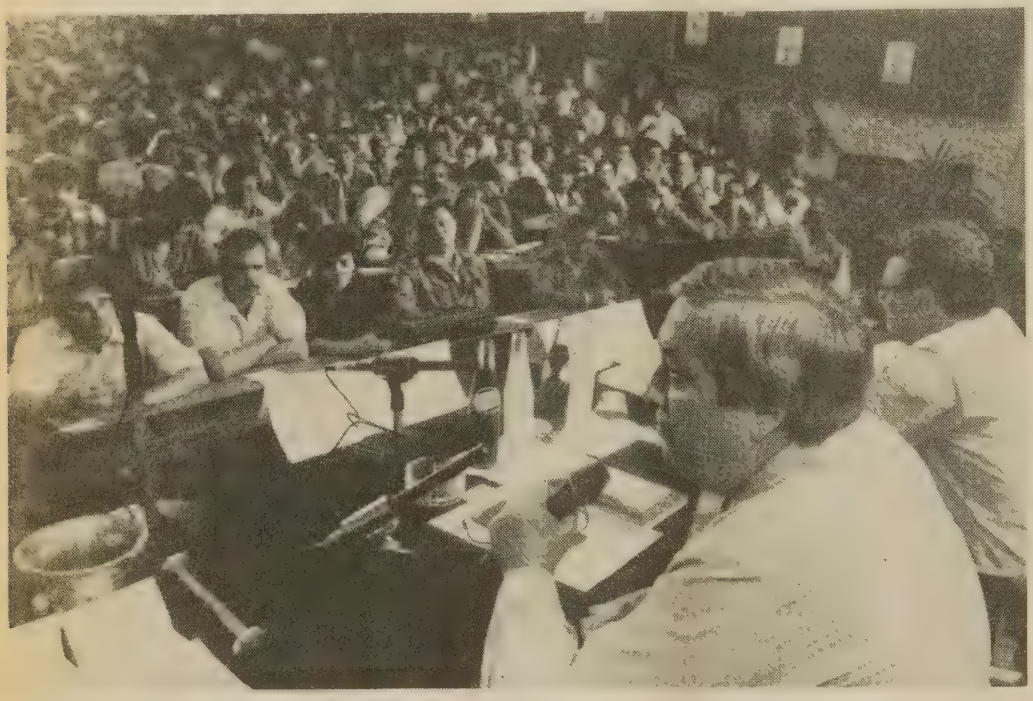
An alternative approach still seems unlikely as economic earnings have shrunk, home consumption has gone through the roof and imports have exceeded exports. The import surplus, however, has not contributed to technological development, improved competitiveness or the restructuring of production. The health of the population was affected by lowered living conditions that cut into almost every social stratum, by the problems young people face at the outset of their careers, the difficulties encountered by pensioners, inflation and the serious housing problem. Now the time has come to work out new alternatives for socialist development. Therefore the stabilization and development programme adopted by the Party as well as the Hungarian Council of Ministers' working programme approved by the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic in September 1987 provide for a gradual deceleration of the growth of the debt with a view to stopping it completely by 1990-91. This objective measures up to our potential and, if attained, would be a major political and economic achievement.

On the dangers of self-praise and self-recrimination

In Hungary, it was emphasized for a long time that the country was on the way to renewal and that substantial results had been achieved on this path. The National Conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held in May and the discussion under way during the run-up to it showed that we had overestimated our achievements, basing many of our major projects on wishful thinking rather than cool calculation.

It is obvious that the critical assessment of the recent past should not turn into self-recrimination (but I cannot say

for sure that this phenomenon does not exist in today's Hungary). Such self-recrimination is harmful not just because it calls into question the results of the work people have done and shakes one's faith in one's own abilities, but also because it interferes with tackling one of the major questions: what to preserve and what to change in politics, society and the economy.



A political forum at Technical University of Budapest. I. Pozsgay, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party CC member and minister of state, answers questions from young people.

Photo by MTI-TASS

For our economic system to work more rationally and efficiently, it is vitally important to find socialist solutions to the new problems, solutions compatible with Hungarian conditions. What is at issue is the creation of a market economy based on the prevalence of socialized collective property, and restructuring of our whole political mechanism in accordance with the requirements of the time. Both tasks are interrelated, and whether or not we solve them will determine our future, the outlook for socialism and Hungary's advance to the forefront of world development.

The restructuring of our political institutions has found itself at the centre of attention. Karoly Grosz, General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, has been pointing out recently that a real reform cannot be reduced to a single field of social life, the economy. In this way he also answers those who, proceeding from past experience, express apprehensions with regard to the present Hungarian plans for reforms. The elimination of economic backwardness cannot in itself lead to a qualitatively more advanced society. That can be achieved only through the democratization of socialism.

The Party in new conditions

The new members of the party leadership have taken up (and started at political level) the implementation of radical changes at a time when the country's economy finds itself in dire straits and is bogged down with everyday problems. A number of urgent, short-term but inevitable measures are perceived by many as the reform as such. Or, more exactly, they take it that all these unpopular measures are caused by the reform rather than by the preceding policy of procrastination. In these conditions the success of the reform depends on whether the leadership is able to overcome the pressure from conflicting interests whose proponents have, after the first weeks and months of the changes, come out into the open. Will the leadership be able to create and presently expand a viable social base that will ensure the necessary advance and be reliable enough to lean on?

These questions are bound up with the tasks of renewing the Party as well as determining the place of the state in society, and the role of the government in it. The resolutions of the National Conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party stimulated discussion and work in this direction. The public continues to discuss ways of realizing in practice the demand that the party should not assume the functions of the state and public organizations, but, by adhering to legal norms and leaning on the broad strata of the population, party organizations and bodies, should, through its members, carry out its leading role in working out strategic policies.

Following the National Party Conference, there has been a mushrooming of all sorts of movements, associations and groups which advance, among other things, political goals as well. One cannot deny that their appearance causes confusion among party members. Some hold this to be the consolidation of anti-socialist forces, and by failing to take resolute steps against them, the party is thus initiating its own disintegration.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee held on September 27 this year clarified this point. The report on the plenary meeting emphasizes that the Central Committee supports the aspiration of citizens to use their political rights within the framework of the Constitution and the law, including the right of assembly and association. At the same time, it is pointed out that the attitude of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to individual organizations will be primarily determined by their own behavior. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, guided by its interest in finding solutions to complex problems of socialist lines as before, is striving for dialogue and seeking areas of likely cooperation. Its objective is the revival of national accord, but not the disunity of the people. The Party is conscious, however, that within various movements there are forces working to undermine the dialogue, exacerbate tension, and in some particular events we can identify the activities of anti-socialist groups.

It would be equally dangerous both for the Party and the country if haste were the response to the problems urgently in need of solution. The period of time that has passed since the National Party Conference is not enough for major changes to have taken place. With a view to restructuring the system of political institutions, work is under way to review the current constitution, and a law is being drafted on the right of assembly and association, along with a bill on suffrage.

The National Assembly, conscious of its great political responsibility, is discussing a matter that is vital for the country. The government, the trade unions, the Communist Youth Union of Hungary and the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front are changing the style of their work.

Following the nationwide discussion, parliament has adopted a law on a new system of taxation for individuals and enterprises. At the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, many Hungarians thought tax evasion something little short of an act of patriotism. Contrary to this "tradition," the new law provides for a taxation system that will compel every family and every citizen to take into account the economic situation of the country.

The government also drafted the bill on economic association enacted by the National Assembly this October. The law touches on the essence of socialism – the question of property. While formerly we identified socialism exclusively with socialized property, we now seek to create a flexible legal framework for the smooth and efficient functioning of property in all forms, including cooperative and private property, and even accepting foreign capital.

In the course of the public discussion of the bill, many expressed apprehension as to whether the review of traditional forms of property for socialism could lead to the abandonment of socialism as such. We think such fears are groundless. What is at issue is that the socialist economy should be rid of the negative phenomena born of indifference, negligence and bureaucracy. This in its turn led to a situation in which nationalization, having merely changed the form of property, at the same time failed to instill the feeling of ownership in the mentality of working people.

Economics and politics

The geographical situation of Hungary and its meagre mineral resources presuppose the country's active participation in the international division of labour. In this light it is only proper that the government should this year have paid great attention to the analysis and reassessment of our foreign relations.

Our economic life consists of dynamic and static elements. The system of relations that ties Hungary to the Soviet and other CMEA economies will play a determining role in the future as well. The relationship between the Soviet Union and Hungary is defined by the identity of political outlook and identity of objectives. Hungary at all forums, using all available facilities, supports perestroika in the Soviet Union. Hungary itself is also going the way of perestroika and renewal. This identity, unlike the oneness frequently expressed in the past by slogans and imitation, now stems from the fundamental similarity of the processes at work in our two countries.

It is clear, however, that the stability of our system of relationships must not be identified with inertia. The difference between politics and economics resides in the fact that while the one is motivated by intentions and wishes, the latter is guided by interests, national imperatives that occasionally come into confrontation. Proceeding from the demands of the intensive perestroika under way in both countries, we see that we have a mutual interest in the delivery of modern, high-quality products. We can also see that neither country is yet able to fully satisfy its needs. Then we should take into consideration the position of our partners, try to maintain the current level of commodity exchange and, if possible, to raise it.

For Hungary it is of prime importance to retain the bilateral balance of trade and balance of payments through reciprocal deliveries. Our economic situation, our problems and needs meet with understanding in the Soviet Union, as was also confirmed during the exchange of views between Karoly Grosz and Mikhail Gorbachev in July 1988. The General Secretaries of our parties expressed their satisfaction at the growing confidence and mutual understanding between our countries. They also agreed on the necessity to restructure the established system of economic ties.

And here primary importance is attached to strengthening direct ties between enterprises – from scientific and technological cooperation to establising joint ventures and drafting the terms of joint capital investments.

Bilateral cooperation is of course entirely compatible with modernizing the system of multilateral relations between the CMEA countries. At the CMEA sessions, Hungarian representatives repeatedly stressed that for our cooperation to keep abreast of the times it is necessary to improve commodity-money relations, lift the system of financial operations out of a bilateral framework and integrate them with multilateral relations. The Soviet Union too is in favour of perfecting the economic cooperation between the socialist countries and improving the system of financial operations and integration based on the mutual interests of the CMEA countries. However, it would be an illusion to think that the realization of these long-term objectives is already feasible. Today the effort should be centred, in my opinion, on maintaining the level of relations between the CMEA countries which are patiently seeking to achieve a practical compromise between the needs and potential of the parties concerned.

The Hungarian government is a principled opponent of autarky. We have had first-hand experience (and this experience has cost our society dearly) that given today's trends in economic, scientific and technological development, in the face of the scientific and technological revolution whose influence can be felt in all corners of the globe, the policy of reliance solely on one's own efforts proves ineffective and harmful. That is why our concepts in the sphere of international politics and foreign economic ties proceed not from ideological premises, not from theories, but from the realities of the existing world.

The major principle of our foreign policy is the striving for friendly relations and close cooperation with our immediate neighbours, other European countries and all nations in the world.

For reasons whose roots go back into history almost a third of the Hungarian nation has to reside beyond the borders of our country, and the most numerous ethnic minority in Europe (about two million people) is made up of the Hungarians living in the Socialist Republic of Romania. We are convinced that in the system of relations between two socialist countries a national minority can play the role of a link between them. That is only true given respect for the individual and collective rights of the nationality and abandonment of prejudices inherited from the past; this is in the spirit of socialist principles and the norms of European civilization.

Renouncing confrontation and groundless accusations, we are trying through dialogue gradually to ease and resolve the issues in dispute and develop our relations with Romania. This aspiration of ours is confirmed by the summit meeting held in Arad on the initiative of Hungary which – we hope – will in due course prove to have been more than just a forum that raised outstanding questions but an overture to a new dialogue.

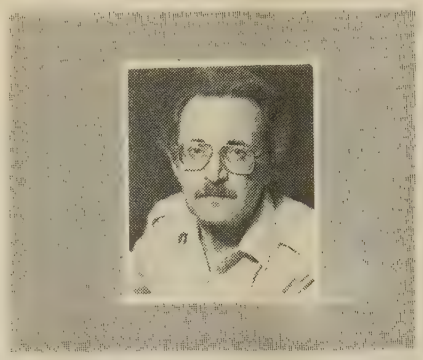
The beginning

The passing year has not brought decisive change in the economic sphere, but things have got off the ground and the signs are in evidence.

Our balance of foreign trade and balance of payments in hard currency have improved due primarily to export growth, and the process of debt growth has slowed down. As for the home financial situation, though the budget deficit is a little higher than planned, it is now much more moderate than last year. Great effort has been put into containing inflation within the planned range and bringing the amount of home consumption into line with more stringent conditions that take account of the modest material resources of the country. It is the beginning – I emphasize, the beginning – of the process of restructuring the economy. Like my fellow countrymen I am aware of difficulties in the first year of stabilization, but I believe the country's new leadership will left Hungary out of its present quandary.

BUDAPEST

JUNIOR WORLD



Why teach children to lie?

Looking through the minutes of the recent session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, I came across something that caught my attention. Addressing the session, Deputy Salykov said that farm managers in the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Republic doctored their milk output figures so that every cow appeared to give a ton more milk than its actual yield. There were even shops that ostensibly sold the nonexistent milk.

The fact is utterly absurd, even when compared with other examples of malpractice cited in the same speech: the maize output was reported as double the actual amount, whereas a quater of the crop areas under rice and cotton were not registered at all. It's quite easy to guess where the harvest went.

It would be naive to think that problems of this kind are peculiar to Kara-Kalpakia. The loathsome word "toofta" (the padding out of work sheets) has become an everyday feature of the economy, even without entering the received vocabulary.

Milk, rice and cotton swindles are one thing. What about those that concern people, in particular children? Why have no indignant words about the "toofta" in education come from the high rostra?

Some words did come, though. Krasnov, Rector of Kuibyshev Medical College, whose report at the recent Congress of Physicians has been published, said: "I spoke to hundreds of schoolleavers who told me they had never read Tolstoy or Gorky, Chekhov or Dostoyevsky. What kind of thinking will such people have?... That's what we get from the schools."

It has reached the unheard-of situation where every vacancy offered by the college was contested by four applicants and there was still no one to be enrolled.

Schools are plagued by "percentage mania," falsified results. Inflation in education certificate is far more dangerous than monetary inflation. We are losing confidence in the man with a Certificate of General Education. He is very likely never to have read either Tolstoy or Chekhov, to say nothing of textbooks on maths or chemistry. He didn't earn his education, nor did he buy an appropriate certificate (there was a period when that wasn't impossible); he received it indifferently from an indifferent school.

Many tragedies lurk behind the 100% academic progress, conscientiousness and unscrupulousness clash dramatically, the souls of the young become downright corrupted. Will anyone who has received an unearned certificate of education hesitate to add a nonexistent ton of milk to a cow's yield? Or perhaps to a thousand cows? One's civic valour stems from school, but baseness also comes from there. High-flown words about the necessity to tell children the whole truth and to imbue them with moral rectitude never fail to enrage me. How can we speak of rectitude and truth in a school where a third of the marks is falsified? Thirty per cent of marks falsified –that is what teachers say themselves. We can't give an exact estimate of the existing situation, as nearly all results of tests and quizzes are nothing short of forgery.

Our recent past was not just a period of stagnation, it was also a period of sham progress. Production kept decreasing while glossy reports came from all quarters, obscuring the regress and the problems it entailed. The period of stagnation just couldn't do without mass-scale dressing-up of the facts, in the same way that the personality cult couldn't do without mass repression.

In addition to the problems piling up in the schools, it was necessary to find at least some progress there. This brought about the much-lauded transition to universal secondary education.

I have always been an advocate of the best education for everybody. At the turn of the century every child will have the right to become not only a literate but also an enlightened person, otherwise we will have to rename the 20th century as the 15th and start everything from scratch.

Education cannot be awarded by decree. The entire system of schooling used to be oriented towards those who were willing and able to study. Selectivity is a basic feature of any methodology.

We did absolutely nothing to improve the quality of education, and neither did we help teachers in their work. The only thing we did was to sack conscientious teachers and head-masters who refused to submit embroidered results. After a period of resistance, the schools surrendered. The methodologies now in operation are able to provide 72–75 % academic progress, while reports from shools claim the index is 98–99 %.

Teachers are corrupted by misleading figures. I often think of the reluctance to adopt advanced experience in education. Teachers just don't feel the need to do so: the existing system guarantees satisfactory marks to every student, no matter how bright or dull.

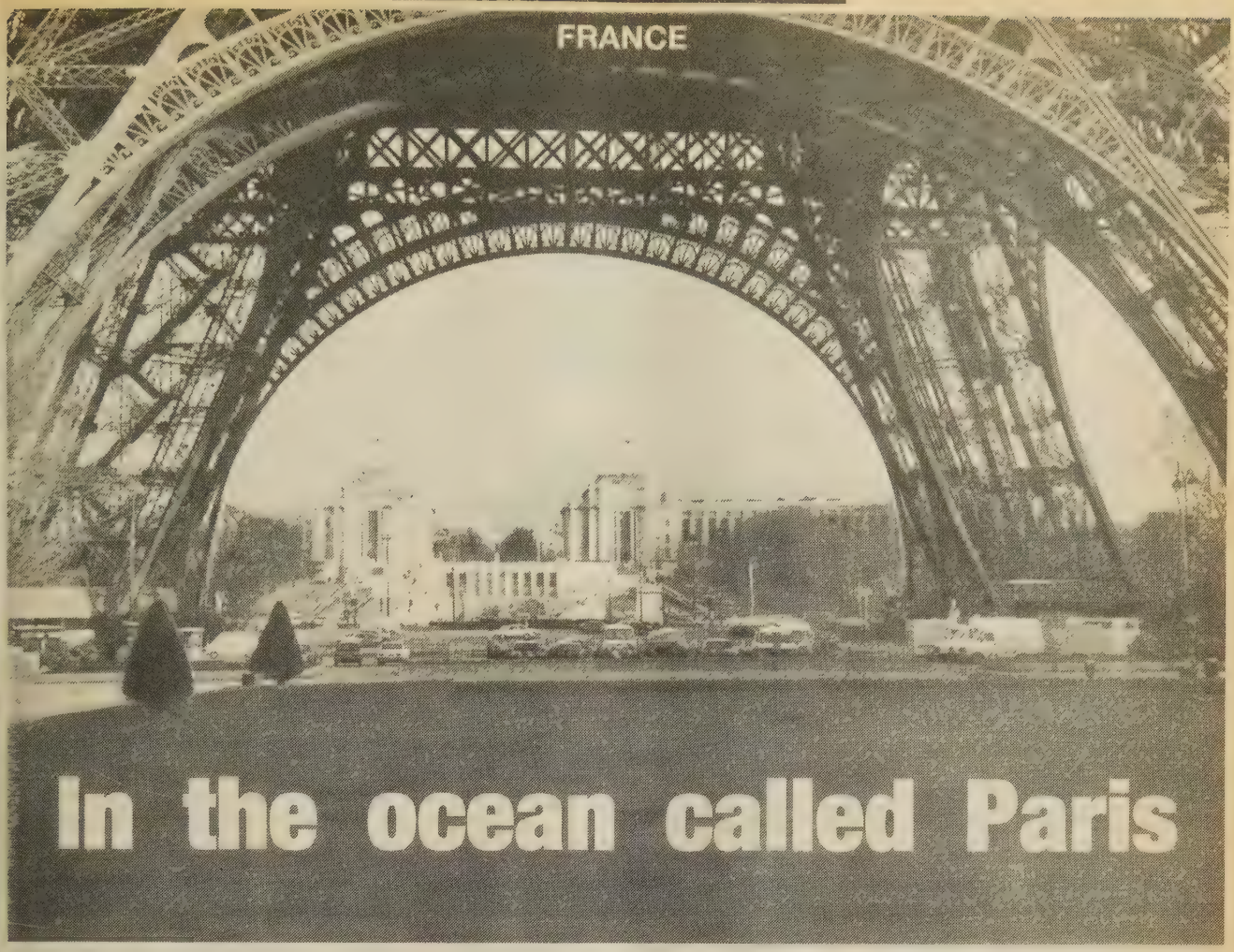
The virus of falsified results infected all branches of education. Children in kindergartens are often taken ill. An easy solution was found – to introduce an attendance index. As a result nurses skipped the frequent airing of rooms and became reluctant to take children on outings lest they fall ill, thus bringing down the index. Once I asked a university lecturer how things were going. The answer was: "OK. I've mastered the art of giving a satisfactory mark to an undeserving student without losing face." Still, the situation in higher education is better; they at least try to resist the common malady.

As for the plight of our secondary schools, we have grown accustomed to viewing it as a kind of a chronic disease not to be discussed in public. Yes, we all know about it; we read a lot about it; why bring up the issue again?

However, it's time we did something. Measures that are proposed today, in particular giving students a free hand to choose their subjects according to their calling, are a far cry from the long-awaited solution. Even in their fifth or sixth year at school children see their marks tampered with. People responsible for education at school are well aware of the fact that reports of 99 % academic progress do not reflect the real situation, that at least a third of the marks have been falsified. However, they are quite content with the existing situation. That is where the big lie begins.

Is it to be wondered at, then, that reports on milk, cotton and rice yields are being falsified?

Simon Soloveichik



In the ocean called Paris

Albert Pin,
our special correspondent

Everybody knows so much about Paris that it seems impossible to find anything new or startling. But, as I have found out, this is not the case...

As the reader will immediately see, the meetings described below were unplanned. These were notes made in the boulevards, avenues and streets of the city. Great and simple, open and enigmatic, like the ocean.

"Mon Bel-Ami"

It was impossible to pass by the establishment that had almost the same name as Maupassant's famous novel "Mon Bel-Ami."

I stopped dead in my tracks when behind a window I saw a charming girl and a pleasant-looking boy in white gowns. Smiling, they were trimming a black poodle.

I knew the Parisians love dogs. My acquaintances had told me that the French capital has more pets per person than any European capital and that the French spend twice as much every year on pets than on books. Figures on that score are available, but I can attest from my own experience that there are a lot of dogs in Paris. To become aware of it, you only have to take a short walk through the streets in the morning. On every curb, house entrance or wall you can see (how should I put it?) the "signatures" of man's best friends. During the day they are usually removed by the special motorized municipal service. But in the evening everything is repeated.

So I stood in front of the dog's beauty parlour admiring the efficient work of the young people. My eyes fell on the price list in the corner of the shopwindow, which showed the charge for trimming or, if you like, washing a dog of this or that breed and size.

It was just idle interest on my part, for I had never owned a dog, and my country doesn't have such beauty parlours, and for all I know is unlikely to have them in the near future. But the people on the other side of the window were unaware of this. A polite gentleman, also in a white gown, opened the door, greeted me, apologized that the price list was tucked away at the bottom of the shopwindow and invited me to enter and get exhaustive answers to all my questions.

The gentleman began by asking me what breed of dog I had. To keep up appearances, I lied:

"A poodle."

"Big or small?"

"Big."

"If your dog is done by a trainee it will cost you 110 francs, and if it's done by a qualified expert, it will be 350 francs. With us, the trainee usually starts and the expert completes the trimming. So on average it will cost you 250 francs. If you want your dog washed it will cost another 125 francs. We'll be glad to have you as a regular client."

I was given the parlour's business card (incidentally, it also sells accessories for dogs – collars, leashes, dog cloths and

toys) and invited to call again at 38, Avenue de la Bourdonnais. It was easy to remember the location of "Mon Bel-Ami" as it was not far from the Eiffel Tower.

I put the card in my pocket and walked away pleased to have received the information which, I confess, was totally useless in my home country. Readers in my country will agree with me: we are too busy grappling with more urgent problems to care about beauty parlours for dogs. When will our services catering to people give us the same smiling welcome and attention, not to speak of business cards?

A glass of orange juice

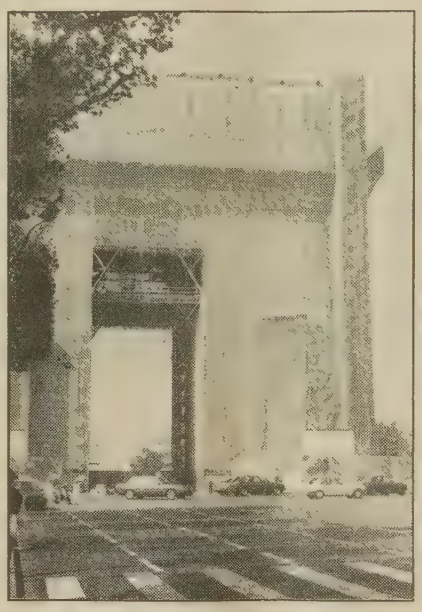
The Eiffel Tower will be a century old next year. The famous Parisian landmark has been given a face-lift for the anniversary. It has been redecorated and illumination experts have been at work to provide a truly royal evening garb for the "queen of Paris." In a Paris guidebook published in 1976 I found the following figures: to climb up to the observation platforms – first, second and third (the highest) – you had to pay respectively 3, 8 and 12 francs. Now getting to the first platform costs 12 francs, and to enjoy a bird's eye view of Paris from a height of 320 metres you have to pay 44 francs. From my observations, prices in Paris cafés where a normal meal now costs 70-80 francs, have also risen three- or fourfold over the past ten years. I will refrain from drawing any conclusions: inflation, as we have discovered, knows no state boundaries.

I walked past the Eiffel Tower and stopped at a round, orange stall on the left bank of the Seine near the Iena Bridge leading to the Trocadero Gardens and Palais de Chaillot. The vendor, a swarthy dark-eyed youth, served orange juice, which he prepared in a juicer from two small oranges for 10 francs. There were not many customers and the lad whiled away the time chatting to two dark-skinned girls.

"They are looking for a permanent job, like myself," he explained later, when we got to talking. "They hope Contact-Orange will help them."

"We are 20," read a notice near the stall. "It is important for us to have a good job. A glass of fresh orange juice is a dialogue. We are telling you about our plans. You give us ideas, tips, perhaps a job. You can help us. Let's talk about it."

Fela Samir's orange juice stall



The Arc de Triomphe getting a face-lift

These orange stalls (I have seen many in other parts of Paris) are manned by young people, like Fela Samir, my new acquaintance. They sign three month contracts with the Orange network. Trainees work four hours a day for 1,450 francs a month, and for a chance to be noticed by an employer.

Fela told me his life story. He is an Algerian born in Paris. He is 19 and finished school last year. Spent a year looking for a job, without success. Lives with his mother in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, behind the Place de la Bastille. They pay 1,500 francs for a 20 sq.m. studio apartment. His mother does odd jobs and earns from two to three thousand francs a month. His father has left the family to return to his native Algeria. He worked at a filling station in Paris.

"What job would you like to have?" I asked the young man.

"I'd like to be a bartender."

"Do you stand any chance?"

"This is my third day at the stall. They told me at the office that half the trainees find work. Another 15 per cent enter a trade school. Here is a Contact Orange leaflet." I read in it that the first 50 Orange stalls were set up in 1985. Now there are three times as many. They are scattered all over the Ile-de-France area and its centre, Paris.

"Is it easy to become an Orange trainee?"

"I think so."

"How many trainees work at your stall?"

"Three. We work in shifts. From 9 a.m. to 8 p.m."

A group of people came up to the stall and Fela Samir had to attend to them. I said good-bye and wished him luck.

The man from the Boulevard des Capucines

If you have seen the film "The Man from the Boulevard des Capucines," I am sure that you will agree that it is a witty and hilarious comedy. I saw the film and I can attest that the audience was enthusiastically following the adventures of the film's hero, Mr First, a cinema enthusiast who goes to the

American Wild West toting a Lumière Brothers' camera and hoping to change the world.

The circumstances of the birth of the cinema are well known: the first public demonstration was held on December 28, 1895, in a café in the Boulevard des Capucines in Paris. From there the cinema started its triumphant march across countries and continents. I was reminded of the film, written by Eduard Akopov and directed by Alla Surikova, when I found myself at the famous Olympia Concert Hall in the Boulevard des Capucines.

Paris honours its famous people. Lumiére is no exception. Last year I stayed at the Novotel not far from the street which bears his name. Surely, I thought, there must be a plaque in the Boulevard des Capucines commemorating the birth of the cinema. But how to find it? I didn't know the name of the café where the first film was shown, nor the exact address. I walked along both sides of the Boulevard but didn't find a plaque. I decided to make inquiries.

The following day I visited Professor Roland Pressat, a prominent demographer and an old acquaintance. I asked him about my unsuccessful search the previous day. The professor was intrigued: he took the History of the Cinema by Georges Sadoul off the shelf. It said that the first film show in the world took place at the Grand-Café. By looking at a Paris guide of the period, we established that the café was situated at 14, Boulevard des Capucines. The question was, did it still exist? The professor didn't know. There are so many cafés and restaurants in Paris.

I went to the above address. It is not far from Place de la Madeleine with its famous church, which looks like a Greco-Roman temple. I studied the façade of the house but found neither a memorial plaque nor a Grand-Café. But there is a restaurant named Le Jardin des Muses, a Banque Populaire and the Frantour Tourisme agency. I looked at the other side of the imposing building, but there was no mention of the Grand Café or the first film show.

I returned to Le Jardin des Muses wondering whether it was still the same house. Perhaps the people in the restaurant knew? Perhaps they could help me? Suddenly I was called upon to assist someone else.

"Pardon, Monsieur," a young, respectably dressed man approached me. "I haven't eaten today. Could you please help me?"

He didn't look like a drunkard. Who was he? A loafer? A professional beggar? Or was he one of the outcasts frequently written about in the French press, stories which are then picked up by our media? I couldn't say... And I didn't feel like questioning him. Somehow I didn't feel like pursuing my historical hunt either. I didn't go into Le Jardin des Muses.

The new-look Arc de Triomphe

A bright announcement on the façade of an old mansion in the Boulevard des Invalides caught my eye. I went up closer to have a look. The notice was about the forthcoming restoration of the house at No. 14. The storeys were to be added on top and two storeys below (for a garage). The work, supervised by architect François Braun was to be carried out by a team led by Pierre Baton of the Carnegimmo company. It has the permission of the Paris municipal council. If you wish, you can inquire about the details personally over the phone or by sending a written query.

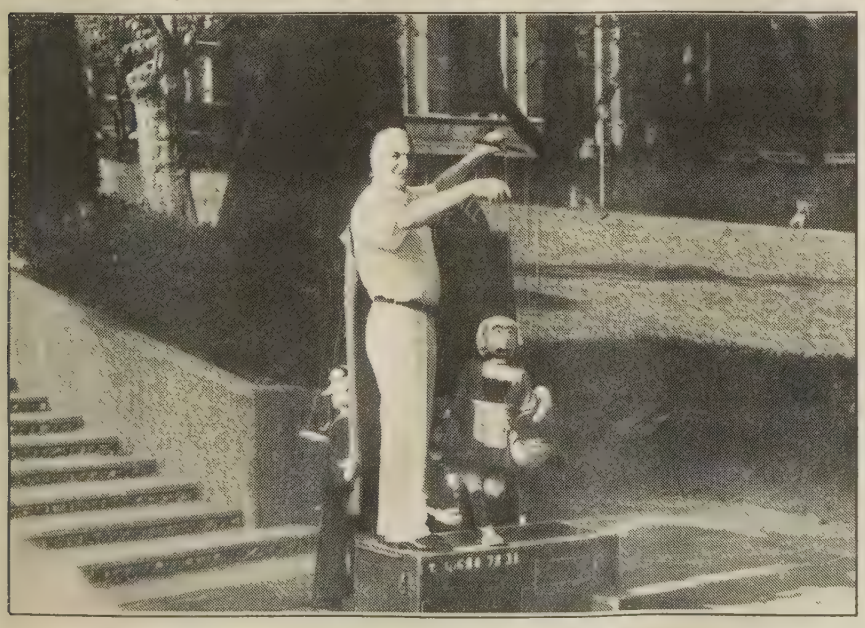
I have seen such announcements in Paris streets before. Each time I couldn't help recalling images of life in Moscow. Some six months before work begins, a square or an empty lot is fenced off along with half of the adjacent street, leaving people to guess whether it will be a new gas mains or a skyscraper. True, a notice on the fence can assuage some of your curiosity: a residential block of so many stories is being built by such-and-such building trust; the construction site superintendent is Mr So and So. You are lucky to get even this information. The worst of it is that the local residents know they will have to make do without a pavement and slosh through the mud for the next year or two.

Leaving our Soviet whizkids behind, let us observe how their Paris colleagues work on some important project. The Arc de Triomphe, for example. Erected to commemorate Napoleon's campaigns, it stands in the centre of Place Charles de Gaulle, which Parisians still call by its old name, La Place de l'Etoile. Twelve avenues, including the Champs-Elysées, converge on it.

You can hardly recognize the Arc de Triomphe. It is covered in scaffolding from top to bottom. The scaffolding is protected with sun-bleached blue, white and red cloth (the national colours). On both sides of the Arc temporary lifts have been installed. The fence surrounding the site does not claim an inch of the pavement. So, the traffic goes by, halted by occasional jams, from morning till late at night.

What has happened to the Arc de-Triomphe, which marked its 150th birthday in 1986? It's the usual disease of historical monuments. Like people, they age and ail. And there comes a moment when the disease reaches a dangerous or critical phase and drastic surgery is needed.

Parisians were surprised when they saw the Arc de Triomphe clad in "mourning weeds," as the journalists



A street puppeteer

To each his own

dubbed the black protective net that girded it (if my memory doesn't fail me, this happened two years ago). It had become unsafe to walk under the Arc because from time to time pieces of masonry broke off and fell to the ground. For this reason, my Paris colleagues told me, for the past few years on national holidays, when the President of the Republic lays a wreath at the Unknown Soldier's Tombstone at the foot of the Arc and welcomes the veterans, he has been politely reminded that he should not make the ceremony too long, and veterans are told not to approach the monument any closer than six metres.

The fate of the Arc was heatedly debated in the French press. The former Culture Minister André Malraux came in for much criticism. It was on his instructions that many Parisian monuments, including the Arc de Triomphe, were cleaned of the soot and grime of the ages in the 1960s. In the process, the natural protective layer of the masonry was removed (silicon was used to cover the sculptures to keep away the pigeons. The silicon scared the birds alright for a while. But it left black stains on the bas-reliefs and statues). But what caused the walls and friezes to crack? The underground railway running under the square or the car tunnel? asked the journalists. Jack Lang, Culture Minister in the Socialist government, was also criticized for being indifferent to the fate of the Arc de Triomphe.

Meanwhile, experts calculated that preserving the monument would cost at least 30 million francs. How to raise the money? François Léotard, the Culture Minister in Jacques Chirac's government, turned to private capital for help. The first to respond was American Express, which offered a third of the sum. Léotard accepted the offer, which provoked indignation among war veterans and protest from many cultural workers who saw American Express's gesture as an advertising gimmick and even as an encroachment on a symbol of French military valour.

The passions have now subsided, as the notices on the fence surrounding the Arc suggest. Restoration work got under way in the second quarter of this year and will be completed in the second quarter of 1989, or so the Ministry of Culture and Communications promises. The total cost of the project is 34 million francs. The money has been put up by the state and the National Association for the Restoration of the Arc de Triomphe. The Presidential Council is headed by Valery Giscard d'Estaing. The organization was set up by the heads of major French and several foreign companies, including American Express, as well as the National Public Works Federation. The Paris Municipal Council is contributing on a charity basis. The Association raises part of the money by appealing to the kindness and responsibility of all those who care about historical monuments.

By reading the notices, I got an idea of what was being done. In addition to redecoration, reinforcing the Arc and its foundation, heavily damaged by ground waters, are a major challenge. I was able to see what a hard job restoration is. This is true even of the relatively unskilled job of washing the masonry with a water jet.

I became acquainted with the washers' foreman, Louis Lhobene, and his colleague Dos Santos, head of the masonry experts team. The former is a Spaniard who has been in France for the past ten years. The second is a Portuguese, who has lived in France for the past twenty years.

"Our teams," they said, "comprise 30 workers. More than half of them are Arabs, while the French account for 40 per cent. It's dangerous work: you have to be on the scaffolding most of the time. Wages? The Arabs who wash the stones get 6,000 francs a month. We foremen have no cause to complain: we make 12,000."

"Will you finish the job by July 14 next year, for the 200th anniversary of the storming of La Bastille?"

"We hope to finish sooner, in February or March."

PARIS-MOSCOW

Photos by author

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An end to submissiveness

Tatiana Ivanova

We remember that mankind is divided into sexes in sorts of situations – except when it comes to the inner workings of the human mind. But here too humanity consists of males and females who perceive quite differently the things of the past, present and future. When we understand that simple truth, we will realize that no social development can be perceived fully if seen only through the wisest male eyes. To round out the picture we must also know what the other half, the better half, as is sometimes said, sees it. With this in mind, we are currently launching a new column which we have decided to call "Female logic." Our columnist is Tatiana Ivanova, who has a well-deserved reputation for speaking her mind.

The restrictions imposed on subscriptions to next year's newspapers and magazines were both unexpected and unreasonably harsh. Accustomed as I have been to perusing some three score magazines for quite a number of years now, I felt crushed when turned away at the post-office window that handles subscriptions. I was crushed literally, as hundreds of us were squeezed around that post-office window. They say the dogs in a dog catcher's cage always snarl and bark at each other. The picture was similar in the suffocating atmosphere where people who had queued for hours snarled and barked at each other, and all because they could't get a subscription to the newspaper or magazine desired.

We are used to queues. No wonder, as we have so many shortages. But this one was very bitter. The restrictions imposed upon subscriptions were seen as restrictions on glasnost, which in turn meant good-bye to perestroika. Perhaps a clever, politically-minded man might not have thought so, but for some reason there wasn't a man like that in our queue. There the female mind was dominant.

Next day we were deluged with interviews in the news media in which clever, politically-minded men furnished logical and convincing answers. We don't have enough newsprint or enough printshops to go round, they said. We can expect that only by 1990, they said. Steps are being taken to change the situation, they said.

As I see it, these worthies should now resign from their jobs. Not because their assurances proved to be not quite what they had so knowledgeably told us was the case. But simply because they spoke so evenly and calmly with none of that snarling and barking. They had no compassion for the hurt we felt. That was our problem. They had other problems. Everyone could see that.

Back in the post-office queue, we had not only snarled and barked. Tempers had flared. Indeed, the very next day editorial offices were swamped with letters and cables signed by scores of people, or perhaps by the occasional individual whose personal signature was worth even more. And with duplicates addressed to every possible office. The hurt shouted, thumped the floor with the crutch of a disabled war veteran, screeched with the voice of a lonely old lady, groaned with the pain of the bed-ridden, mouthed the imprecations and snide comments of the younger generation.

Some of the letters carried were from those trusting souls who wrote that they were prepared to go out and scout round for as much waste paper as necessary, so that they could subscirbe to their favourite publications, that they were prepared to work on their days off and to transfer the requisite amount of money even though they did not have much of their own. Nice folk they, who don't seem to realize how much society suffers from their obliging readiness to take everything lying down.

No wonder the poet Evgeny Yevtushenko qualified this attitude with the very apt but untranslatable epithet of "priterpelost," which roughly means innate submissiveness.

I really don't know what carried the day. The thousands of letters, the contributions from top journalists, a brief note indicating how much we really need to meet the demand – so infinitesimally negligible compared to the scope of our country, or all three.

At any rate, in spite of those sober male voices asserting that the restrictions were not a step backwards from perestroika and that their lifting was not a victory for perestroika, I jubilantly declare that it was indeed a victory for perestroika.

All that worries me is that in that crush at the post-office window we should't have snarled and barked at each other, shouldn't have let tempers fly, shouldn't have slunk back home each to write his or her personal letter, but should have written that letter right there. One head is good, they say, a hundred, a thousand, are still better.

We still don't know how to unite our efforts.

Of course, we must have faith in the individual's own efforts, in the role each person plays in history.

Still, I see this victory as a commonly won victory for perestroika.

Perestroika needs its victories. These victories can be won provided we all staunchly uphold perestroika.

A message of wrath and sadness

He was twelve when he ate his fill for the first time

In August 1970 an exhibition of Latin American paintings was held in the National Museum of Fine Arts in Santiago, Chile. I was working there as a TASS correspondent. The work of leading painters – the Mexicans Siqueiros and Rivera, the Argentinian Castagnino, the Cuban Lam and some others – were on display in the spacious halls of the museum. But even among these outstanding canvases, the paintings of Osvaldo Guayasamin, a then unknown artist from Ecuador, attracted the public's special attention.

His style of painting is unusual and striking. This sharply distinguished Guayasamin from the other painters. A distinctive feature of his style is that the essence of the picture is expressed through a detail, such as hands. His cycle of paintings entitled "Despair" is unforgettable. The pictures show only human hands in black and white. The most expressive are those begging in a moment of despair, imploring, toil-worn and heavy-veined, senile. The next canvas shows a pair of big muscular hands clenched in indignation. You can see that they know it is hopeless to beg, but that you have to demand and fight for your demands.

Not long ago I was fortunate enough to visit Osvaldo Guayasamin's home.

Mikhail Stepanov, TASS correspondent in Ecuador and I pressed the doorbell at exactly noon, the appointed time. The door was opened by the housekeeper. We introduced ourselves and explained the reason for our visit. But at that very moment we saw Osvaldo Guayasamin hastily crossing the patio. He was wiping his paint-stained hands with a rag. We seemed to have distracted him from work. The artist looked more like a mason or a carpenter. A thickset man in a plain checkered shirt with rolled-up sleeves, jeans and light-coloured summer shoes. He has a big, dark-skinned, furrowed face with typically Indian features, as if sculptured out of stone. Our host was followed by Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of President Allende (she took part in the conference on Chile and while she was in the capital of Ecuador, she stayed at this house), and a boy who turned out to be a young Ecuadoran painter.

Osvaldo Guayasamin invited us inside. His home turned out to be a real museum.

I cannot help mentioning some of the most exciting exhibits. For almost half a century Guayasmin has been purchasing archeological finds of the pre-Columban period, which now make up a priceless collection. There are paintings of the colonial period, a first edition of Francisco Goya's "Disasters of War," "Parables" and "Caprichos" and works by Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró and outstanding Latin American masters. And, of course, Osvaldo Guayasamin's own paintings.

It is worth noting that they are on display not only in the artist's home, but also in the neighbouring building, the so-called Guayasamin Fund, which is open every day to visitors. The fund is valuable not only as a fairly complete collection of Guayasamin's canvases and works by artists of other countries (including Soviet painters), but also as Latin America's biggest library on art. The artist collected it during his tours of European, Asian and American countries. The fund plans to set up a print shop of its own to publish books, catalogues and reproductions, a TV studio and workshops for the restoration of old paintings. And, finally, the fund is used for holding music festivals. Every year folk, classical and modern music festivals are held here with the participation of accomplished and famous performers.

It is worth noting that Osvaldo Guayasamin has donated the fund and his home, with all the collections (including close on 300 canvases) and library to the governing body of Quito. He has done this with the consent of his seven sons.

After we had toured the house, the host invited us to sit down at a big wooden table occupying nearly half of a spacious hall. Hortensia Bussi de Allende, who accompanied us, excused herself. We were then treated to coffee. Osvaldo Guayasamin said: "Many people wonder why I work mainly along one and the same line, almost on one and the same theme, and why I am partial to black and white.

"In the course of many years of creative work I have produced close on 6,000 canvases, watercolours and stone, wooden and bronze sculptures. Both the line and themes of my works, and the colours I use were conditioned directly by my experience in life. I was born and grew up in appalling poverty. Much of what is expressed in my canvases is my personal experience. My paintings are my observations of life. But I would never have adopted this style, had I not known that this experience was not just my own, but that of many million people living all over the world."

In the Quechua language Guayasamin means a soaring white bird. But this bird was ignorant of the joys of childhood, of simple children's games and pastimes. As he told us the story of his life, Osvaldo said that there were ten children in the family of which he was the eldest. He had to help his father, a truck driver, to feed his younger brothers and sisters. They were extremely poor and almost always hungry. "Can you imagine that I was nine when I had my first pair of shoes and twelve when I ate my fill for the first time?" he asked.

Guayasamin is an Indian. His father was a Quechua and his mother a metisse.

No wonder one of the first big cycles entitled "Haycayñán" (the Quechua for "Road of Tears") is about the unhappy fate of the South American Indians. Comprising 103 canvases, this cycle represents the artist's concept of the "road of tears" the Indians, Negroes and métis have been trudging along over the last few centuries.

It is worth noting that the cycle was conceived outside the artist's studio. Before executing it on canvases, Guayasamin toured the continent for two years. He covered the United States, Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Chile and Bolivia by train, bus and other means of transport to witness with his own eyes the lives of the characters that were to appear in his canvases. During this trip he did close on 4,000 drawings, which were reworked into the 103 paintings of the cycle. "The last thing I rely on," Guayasamin commented,"is inspiration or revelation, which may or may not, enlighten you. I

he "Age of Wrath" cycle

elieve only in persistent daily effort. Re-
ardless of my condition or mood, I take
ıy place at the table or easel. And even
ow, though no longer as young as I used
be, I work from 12 to 14 hours a day."

"How do you form an idea for a pic-
re?"

"First an idea for a canvas or a series
osses your mind. Then I start to make
awings, studies and sketches. To put it
a nutshell, everything that moves me
nd arouses my interest I draw in pencil
transfer it onto a canvas. That was pre-
sely how the 'Age of Wrath,' one of my
vourite cycles, appeared."

Just like "Haycayñan," the "Age of
rath" was conceived in the course of a
ur of several countries. As distin-
uished from the former, it took shape as
travelled not only in Latin America, but
so on other continents, Europe espe-
ally. This trip lasted seven years. The ar-
st went to the countries where develop-
ents most troubled or excited him. He
ent some time in Spain, where he met
ıe heroes who had fought for the Re-
ublic. He visited such historical places
s Guadalajara, the scene of heavy fight-
g during the Civil War, and Guérnica,
ıe first peaceful town to be destroyed by
ıscist planes. When Guayasamin toured
ıe Soviet Union he visited Leningrad and
ıe legendary city on the Volga. He saw
l the concentration camps the Nazis
ad set up. Everything he witnessed,
very meeting and interview was jotted
own in the form of drawings. By the time
ıe journey was over he had roughly
0,000 drawings. The cycle comprises
out 250 paintings, which reflect practi-
ally all of the drawings. Although Os-
aldo Guayasamin has been working on it
r more than 30 years, he has not yet
ompleted it.

The "Age of Wrath" is subdivided, so to
ay, into several cycles on definite
emes. However, taken together they
ake up a complete whole. The cycle is a
ory about the humiliating conditions of
e in capitalist countries, the poverty and
norance that turn a person into a
iritual slave. Guayasamin does not limit himself merely to recording the evils and various forms of social injustice. Like any great artist he exposes those who are responsible for the evils and injustice. One of the cycles is entitled "The Guilty." These are above all the ruthless dictators, reactionary warlords, the insidious Catholic Church that feigns humility, unscrupulous businessmen and corrupt politicians.

The main themes of the cycle – pacifism, the warning against impending disaster and the call to join hands to resist this threat – merits special attention. This idea above all pervades the canvases devoted to the defenders of Stalingrad, the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the victims of the Nazi concentration camps, and the wars in Spain and Vietnam.

Of course, the present author cannot deal with every picture in the "Age of Wrath" cycle. But I cannot fail to describe the canvas "Cripples" from the Spanish subcycle. It exposes the evil face of any dictatorship, regardless of its nationality.

When Osvaldo Guayasamin was in Madrid something he witnessed at Bernabeu Stadium shocked him. Among the people watchig the football match were several Civil War invalids. They were sitting together on benches placed at the very edge of the field. Some had lost their hands or arms, others their legs or feet, and still others both arms and legs. As soon as the local team scored a goal, the invalids, just like the other spectators, showed their emotions. In their own way, of course. They would wave their stumps or try to jump onto their seats. The scene was horrifying. What Guayasamin accidentally learned later was even more appalling: the invalids had been brought to the stadium on Franco's own orders. The Caudillo had instructed them to wave their stumps every time a goal was scored. The dictator wanted to show the public the price the cripples had paid for defending the Republic and thus inspire it with fear. The intention was inhuman and cruel. This is precisely what the canvas reveals. The painting "Tanya" symbolizes the courage of the people of Leningrad who endured the grim years of nazi siege. It was also the result of the shock the artist experienced when he read the diary of Tanya Savicheva.

Though Osvaldo Guayasamin does not belong to any party, his political sympathies crystallized many years ago. He is a member of the National Peace Committee and one of the leading figures in the Latin American Human Rights Association. He is chairman of the Ecuador-Cuba Friendship Association. He invariably takes an active aprt in international forums held by progressive organizations in Quito. It is noteworthy that they are frequently held at the fund.

As our interview drew to a close, one of us could not help asking Guayasamin what he was working on at the moment.

"This is a difficult question indeed," he said with a laugh. "However, speaking seriously, I am considering a monumental undertaking. I want to create something like a 'Chapel of Man' – an architectural structure in the form of a truncated cone. There I intend to display my work, the pieces I consider most important. The 'Road of Tears,' 'Age of Wrath' and 'Tenderness' cycles – approximately 60 paintings altogether. But that is not my main aim. I wish to create a panorama of American reality. Why American? The point is that the 'Chapel of Man' will be my contribution to the celebrations on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, which are to take place in 1992. I shall try to reflect the 500-year history of the continent, its conquest and struggle for independence and its establishment. To put it briefly, I intend to cover the events up to now.

"I have another dream. I would like to go to the Soviet Union again. I have been to your country several times. Every visit has been not only moving, but also fruitful in creative terms. Today the Sovet Union has entered a special period. All of us, not only in Ecuador, but also in other Latin American countries are watching the developments in your country with anxiety and hope. We know that your success in perestroika will be our success, in fact the success of all revolutionary forces."

Anatoly Medvedenko
QUITO-MOSCOW

Victor Isakov, the new Soviet Ambassador to India, was born in Leningrad in 1932. His father was an army physician , so his family often had to move from place to place. However, this did not interfere with his secondary education, and he left school with honours. Then he studied at the Institute of Foreign Relations and subsequently worked at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. There he worked for 30 years in the U.S. section and rose from probationer to deputy head of department. He had four prolonged tours abroad, working at the Soviet embassy in the United States and achieving the rank of counsellor. He defended a thesis for a candidate's degree and for the past two years has been ambassador to Brazil.

Victor Isakov says that the new appointment came as a surprise because despite the constant interest he has paid to India (he considered aspects of the Indian economy in his thesis) the subcontinent remains "terra incognita" to him.

He accepted his new appointment with professional enthusiasm for the interesting and challenging work ahead of him. Victor Isakov intends to become better acquainted with the culture, history and customs of the peoples of India and get to know its people.

He has had the experience of serving as ambassador to Brazil and thirty years as a specialist in the field of Soviet-American relations. "A fine school," he says.

* * *

Khasai Aliyev, 37, a psychiatrist from Makhachkala, worked out a Ministry of Public Health-approved controlled self-regulation method which he successfully tries out not only on sportsmen but on journalists as well, NT included...

Khasai Aliyev graduated from the Medical Institute in Makhachkala and worked for 5 years at an electronics enterprise in Armenia in the section of industrial psychophysiology. The section was set up in an attempt to make workers engaged in monotonous operations less susceptible to fatigue. Several years later Aliyev became head of the self-regulation centre attached to the Ministry of Health of the Daghestan Autonomous Republic in Makhachkala.

"The people I have trained – thousands of them – may, for instance, put themselves to sleep at will in 2-3 seconds while remaining in a standing position; headache or toothache can be removed without any medicine used," Khasai explains. "All this allows a person to work more efficiently and be more relaxed."

Personnel who work in the centre headed by Aliyev make contracts with industrial enterprises and offices. Khasai thinks it especially important to teach his method in schools and develop among pupils the ability to work with less input of strength and at the same time with more efficiency.

"My method," Aliyev says, "draws on thousand-year-long experience of yoga, autosuggestion and other similar systems. A person who has autoregulation can easily learn new activities – typing, drawing, for instance."

The Daghestan centre is as yet in no position to accept all the applicants. The personnel is now engaged in working out a course to teach doctors striving to replenish their psychotherapeutic arsenal with the Aliyev method.

* * *

"A pike in a pond of sleepy fish"

This is how the Polish weekly Przeglad Tygodniowy described **Mieczyslaw Wilczek,** the new Industry Minister. In the space of a literally fortnight he has made himself one of the most popular figures in Poland and abroad.

Prior to accepting the ministerial portfolio, Mieczyslaw Wilczek was co-owner of the firm Lavil which has joint Polish and foreign capital. He owned a 20 per cent interest in the firm which is situated in Stanislawow in Siedlce Region. He gave the assurance that he would sell his shares in connection with his new post.

The new minister holds 20 patents for inventions in the field of chemistry and forage production. A 56-year-old chemical engineer, a graduate of the faculty of law at Warsaw University, Wilczek did research work in Silesia Technical University and held the post of director of the Pollena Association, which deals in domestic chemical goods. At 30 he joined the Polish United

Workers' Party, sits on the Socio-Political Council attached to the Sejm and is Vice-Chairman of the Association for the support of economic initiative.

"The ministry," he said, "will be encouraging the establishment of small enterprises whose number is expected to grow to 50 thousand." These enterprises, the minister believes, will be an important element in improved economic performance. He spoke in favour of the liquidation of enterprises operating at a lo and in favour of supporti profit-making factories who efficiency will be encourag by the state in every possit way. It was on the suggesti of the new minister that the d cision was made to clo down the Lenin Shipyard Gdansk on October 29. Th enterprise will be forma closed as from December 1988.

On assuming his new offic Wilczek decided to cut dov the ministry's personnel half. He has also announcec 40 per cent cut in the admin trative personnel in the co mining industry.

Wilczek supports the idea enlisting foreign capital to he the Polish economy.

He is an energetic person, once resolute and cautious sure that the Polish Unit Workers' Party now has eve opportunity to rally all who b lieve in the future of socialis to its programme.

Ryszard Najder
WARSA

Georgios Koskotas, 35, a businessman, is the main "dramatis persona" of the financial scandal now raging in Greece and, journalists believe, threatening a political crisis.

The drive of the go-getting entrepreneur, who arrived in Greece from the United States in 1979, drew public attention to him almost overnight. He lost no time in amassing an enormous fortune which brought him the Bank of Crete, one of the country's biggest, the Olympiakos football team, the fashionable King George Hotel, half a dozen of newspapers and magazines...

In 1986, the left-wing paper Ethnos accused him of cooperation with the mafia but lost the libel action taken against it by Koskotas. In 1987, Koskotas was arrested for tax evasion.

The Greek law known as "where have you found it?" makes it incumbent on all businessmen to declare their sources of income. A surprise inspection revealed serious abuses in the Bank of Crete. On October 22, Koskotas was deposed from the bank president's post, and an inquiry began. Although forbidden to leave Greece, Koskotas sneaked out of the country. The runaway businessman is accused of financial machinations, forgery and blackmail.

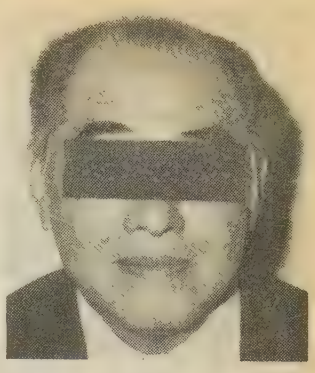
Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou voiced his concern over the "Koskotas case," particularly over Koskotas' statement to the effect that he had remitted large sums to an American bank in the names of certain Greek cabinet members. All the details of this case must be cleared up, the Prime Minister stressed.

Koskotas' flight cost Anastassios Sehiotis, Minister of Public Order, his post.

The Greek police applied to Interpol for cooperation in tracking down Koskotas.

* * *

Gohda Shiroh is the name of the author that appears on the cover of a book entitled "And the Death Sentence Was Carried Out." The book, a best seller in Japan, sparked off a nationwide discussion and led to an ad hoc session of the standing Committee on Judicial Afairs of the Upper Chamber of Parliament. It is a pen name, the real name of the author being known only to the publishers. Why is the author hiding from publicity? Because, the publishers emphasize, he served fifteen years in jail for armed robbery



and on his release in 1976 tried to turn over a new leaf. He married and had a daughter, but his wife does not know anything about his convict past and he does not want her to know...

However, the superintendent of Miyagi Prison, in which the author claims to have spent fifteen years, stated that the book is a product of the imagination. But the head of the correction facilities board attached to Japan's Ministry for Justice had to admit that some episodes of the book are accurate.

Gohda Shiroh described the last minutes of prisoners on death row – a topic covered with a pall of secrecy in Japan. The names of the condemned and the dates of the executions are kept secret. The writer claims to have witnessed executions on several occasions. It is stipulated that execution be postponed if the prisoner desperately resists and if the struggle lasts more than five minutes. But the prison authorities prefer to resort to various "tranquilizers."

Gohda Shiroh claims that the police in Japan stop at nothing to wrest confessions from suspects. Torture and beatings are common. Prisoners are interrogated for 10-12 hours on end without having a lawyer present. It is a very touchy point for Japanese. Recently three condemned people were released after additional investigations. Nine more of those who "confessed" have been acquitted on all counts...

Will Gohda Shiroh reveal his name? The publishers doubt it. He greatly appreciates the quiet life he is now leading. Along with writing a new book. Also about prison.

Tsoi the romantic

Sergei Solovyov's film "Assa" ends with **Victor Tsoi**'s song that goes: "We want change, we want change." The video clip with this song is now often shown on television.

The popularity of Victor Tsoi, 26, soloist in the pop group Kino, is founded on the romantic aura of his songs. Opening up new romanticism to young people, Tsoi sings of that part of human life that excludes career and material well-being. It is this feature that makes his songs very attractive to teenagers and to all those who are not bent on things material.

Tsoi's creative work might seem a pure and muted expression of the contemporary young person, of typical teenage subculture, if we ignore the fact that Tsoi's lyrics have very little to do with contemporary slang, that their vocabulary is impeccable, with seemingly simple words turning out to be profound ideas, that they have become a model for contemporary lyrics and snatches of his songs have become catchwords...

In the past year we have suddenly seen the quiet, yet lyrical and individual style of his performances become enriched with more mature social significance. One such song allows the tragic melodrama "Assa" to end on a note of new hope which might be described as the social optimism of the young.

He has also been successful in other fields. He played a part in the film "The Needle" by Rashid Nugmanov, for which he also composed music, and in the film "The City" by Alexander Burtsev. He also appears in the documentary "Rock" by Alexei Uchitel, in which he reflects on his career. His record "Night" was released in 1988.

The pop group Kino is top quality and very close-knit. It is the centre of Sergei Kuryokhin's Pop Mechanic (see New Times, issue 44, 1988).

Yevdokia Brandman

If we don't want to be left behind

Dr **Karel MARTINEK,** Learned Secretary of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of Organic Chemistry and Biochemistry, and winner of the U.S.S.R. Lenin Prize, talks to NT correspondent Tatiana Firsova.

New Times. Dr Martinek, you have spent many years in Moscow where you lectured in the School of Chemistry at Moscow University. How did you come to the Soviet Union?

KAREL MARTINEK. I came to your country for the first time in 1953 to study. At first I studied at Kazan University and than transferred to Moscow University, from which I graduated in 1958. New possibilities opened up after that. I am sure that I was attracted as a private individual and later as a scientist by the democratic atmosphere that existed at the university at the time, long before the changes that are now taking place in your country. I will have lived in Prague the same number of years as I lived in Moscow only towards retiring age.

NT. In 1982, together with a team of researchers, you were awarded the Lenin Prize. Can you tell me more about it?

K.M. We did theoretical and experimental research into the uses of immobilized enzymes in treating cardiovascular diseases. In other words, we devised a new preparation that helped dissolve blood clots and one that was badly needed at hospitals.

NT. At the moment you head one of the oldest scientific research institutions in your country, the Institute of Organic Chemistry and Biochemistry....

K.M. Upon my return home I was given that responsibility. Our Institute celebrated its 35th birthday last year, as did the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The studies that we have conducted here over a long period of time cover all areas of classical organic synthesis and biochemistry, as well as individual avenues of applied research. I would say we pay too much attention to applied research here.

NT. Do you think applied research is of secondary importance?

K.M. It is very important, but the Academy of Sciences in a socialist country, and as you know our institute belongs to the Academy, must above all perform the functions assigned to it from the outset, that is, to carry out fundamental research, because that is the area upon which the progress of science as a whole depends.

NT. Given today's pragmatic approach to research whereby it is expected to yield tangible results rapidly, is it really worth our whole to give applied research a back seat? After all, it can generate the funds that fundamental research always seems to be short of...

K.M. That's a very good question. Try and imagine the following situation. We are busy earning funds by doing only profitable studies, or we are buying licenses, which is a profitable proposition as well. Now, what will then happen to our own school of science? Very soon – sooner even than you can expect – standards attained by every laboratory will decline catastrophically. As a result, our qualifications will be downgraded to the point where we won't be able to tell what should be imported and what we should aspire to develop – after all managers and technicians have no way of knowing that. Even in purchasing licenses, the leading researcher in the field must be consulted.

NT. Nevertheless, as far as I know, your own institute intends to become self-supporting...

K.M. To a very small extent it is certainly going to be so. Between 10 and 15 per cent of our research will be done on a self-supporting basis. As far as I know, that percentage is slightly higher in the U.S.S.R.

NT. Does this mean that you need self-support after all?

K.M. Up to a point. Above all we need it in introducing new technologies, something that industry is as yet unable to do single-handedly. Our Institute concentrates on for instance, research into biorational methods of all-round plant protection. We rely on pheromones, compounds excreted by animals into the environment. In small amounts they pose no threat to people, but are able to act selectively on various pests and even bring them to total extinction over a given area. We have made considerable progress here. One to our efforts, we have managed considerably to improve forest conservation. Our forests are largely monocultural and have been considerably weakened by acid rain. The bark beetle is a major pest and the growth of the bark beetle population immediately causes a crisis. We have managed to control that particular pest and on that basis to give better protection to vineyards, orchards, and the hop plantations, where the situation is also a complex one.

Hop fields have shrunk in the Soviet Union of late as a result of measures taken to combat alcohol abuse and the cuts in the production of alcoholic beverages, but hops earn this country a great deal of hard currency. That is why the problem of protecting hop fields here is a pressing one. We have also made considerable progress in devising anti-virus preparations. Incidentally, while measuring up to top world standards in the field of fundamental research, we have hard time translating our new ideas into practice.

NT. Regrettably, the situation is much the same in other socialist countries and in the U.S.S.R. as well.

K.M. That is correct. For instance, our own industry here in Czechoslovakia is totally unprepared for the production of state-of-the-art anti-virus drugs. I am not even going to talk in that context of the problem of AIDS, which is another disease caused by a virus. We are unable to produce some of the more primitive drugs, for instance those designed to combat herpes. That is why we have to sell our licenses to Western companies and it's here that we have to deal with the resistance of our own industries which, on the one hand, cannot cope with orders of our research organizations, and on the other, protest vigorously against the sales of licenses.

NT. Is there any other way under the circumstances?

K.M. There is no other way. If we do not sell our licenses we shall lose even what we are able to earn at the moment. Although we always stipulate that the CMEA market must not be covered by the obligations we assume under license deals. It is our own market. If we manage to launch the production of these preparations in the future here we should be able to supply all the member countries of the CMEA with them. The production of these preparations in the West is highly monopolized and if we failed to stipulate that we would have been ousted from our own market. Besides, there is an elaborate system for testing drugs in the West that involves test animals and it is practically impossible for us to go through the relevant procedures.

Dr Karel Martinek with members of the staff of the School of Chemistry at Moscow University

NT. Why is that so?

K.M. The trouble is that the system of quality control and testing obligatory in many nations is not advanced here at all. That is one of the problems that we must tackle without delay. If we do not want to lag behind we must try and develop the biochemical and pharmaceutical industries and introduce appropriate procedures to control the quality of all physiologically active compounds, and not just drugs.

NT. What is preventing this right now?

K.M. Such tests are very expensive. We need pure animal breeds, I mean the higher animals, like pigs, monkeys and dogs. We have encountered considerable problems even in securing tissue cultures. A great deal of work must be done here without delay.

NT. What in your view is the situation like where quality control procedures are concerned in the U.S.S.R.?

K.M. I believe that the Soviet Union is quite capable of introducing the centralized testing of drugs.

NT. As far as I know, given present levels of technological sophistication, it takes a very small amount of effort and time to identify the physical, chemical and other properties of the drugs that are subjected to tests and, depending on the results, conduct one's own research.

K.M. It is indeed very difficult to mesh the active component of a drug now. State-of-the-art instrumentation makes it possible to identify active components in a matter of hours, but the point is that over many years an atmosphere of friendship in our relations has emerged and there can be no question of any mistrust. We know full well that only our ties enable us to establish really reliable and universally beneficial cooperation.

NT. You worked in the Soviet Union for a long time. Whom of the Soviet scientists do you keep in touch with?

K.M. With my colleagues at Moscow University above all. We worked together on fundamental biochemical problems that are of applied interest. I regularly met with Academician Alexander Bayev who is in charge of biotechnological matters at the U.S.S.R. Academy and I also met with Yuri Ovchinnikov, one of your most talented scientists. I learned with great sorrow about hisdeath. I had very close ties with Evgeny Chazov. We even had a joint team of researchers specializing in various sciences, chemistry, biology and medicine. It was owing to that cooperation that we managed to devise the formula to dissolve blood clots which won us the Lenin Prize. It can be used on a far wider scale, but we are told that the production costs are prohibitively high. That is because the fine biochemical technologies are lagging behind.

NT. Are you talking of the U.S.S.R. here?

K.M. Yes. This problem confronted me through the years I spent in the U.S.S.R.

NT. What must be done, in your view, to redress the situation and encourage industries to introduce advanced technologies rather than continue to resist them?

K.M. What we need above all is a new approach relying on creative initiative, rather than on what has already been achieved. The point is that for a long time managers and the staff of ministries tried to hold on to the status quo, ignoring everything that fundamental researchers had to offer. Now that their activities have been given a fair assessment, (I have read about it in the Soviet newspapers) they have to mend their ways. Only recently it was practically impossible to induce many of them to adopt unconventional approaches to complex problems, as an atmosphere of complacency and satisfaction with what had been achieved prevailed for decades. The economic reform under way in the Soviet Union is forcing them to change their style of work. I very much hope that the medical and biochemical industries will reach new frontiers. Otherwise investment in them will be lost and science itself will cease to be a driving force in the social progress.

PRAGUE – MOSCOW

Pop composer becomes statesman

RAIMONDS PAULS, People's Artist of the U.S.S.R., is a new Chairman of Latvia's Republican State Committee for Culture

Only recently it would have been quite out of the question, though nowadays we can increasingly expect more novelties in the spirit of perestroika.

No doubt the news will come as a surprise to some. How is it that a jazz composer and pianist, and what's more, not a CPSU member, has been raised to such high office? Note that he is not only a very talented composer appreciated far beyond his home republic of Latvia, but also a deputy to the Republican Supreme Soviet and an acknowledged authority on more than just the world of art. His work is permeated with the spirit of Latvian culture, a strong unostentatious love for his native land. The first songs he wrote while still a student helped restore human strength after the irreparable losses of an appalling war, already manifesting his creative creed. By orchestrating folk songs and choral singing, he has raised their prestige throughout the length and breadth of his republic.

Though Raimonds' father did not attend his son's graduation recital at the Riga conservatoire, his textile mill workmates told him that Raimonds's performance had caused eyes to fill with happy tears.

Asked whether Raimonds's evocative music had ever influenced his own creative efforts, the Latvian poet Janis Peters said: "What inspires me is the evocative music that is part and parcel of Raimonds's **personality** as composer. What inspires me is his fundamental striving to write music of enduring value that makes music for entertainment serve only an auxiliary role. What inspires me is his ability to represent our people among other nations. No wonder he is finding more and more new avenues for self-expression."

Raimonds has never shied away from the winds of change. He has always forged tenaciously ahead, at times against heavy odds. Fortunately enough, though some avoided him, booed his jazz pieces or perused the scores of his first musicals with condescension, the majority had faith in his star, his fidelity to principle and his stamina.

In the world of art the personality is all. Halls are packed not so much with jazz buffs, as with fans of Raimonds Pauls, the illustrious jazz composer. One realizes that for Raimonds the children's choir on the stage is as vital as a popular singer. No doubt when composing for this choir he sees us all as children of different ages. All those who understand talent are talented themselves. At any rate, Pauls attracts fine poets, musicians, artists and actors. The home he shares with his wife Lana is always open, at every time of day and in every season, to people who have something to show, wherever they may come from, near or far. At any rate, all who are familiar with Pauls, his career, his intellect, his attitude to art and life, will definitely say that his appointment as Chairman of Latvia's Republican Committee for Culture is a most hopeful sign.

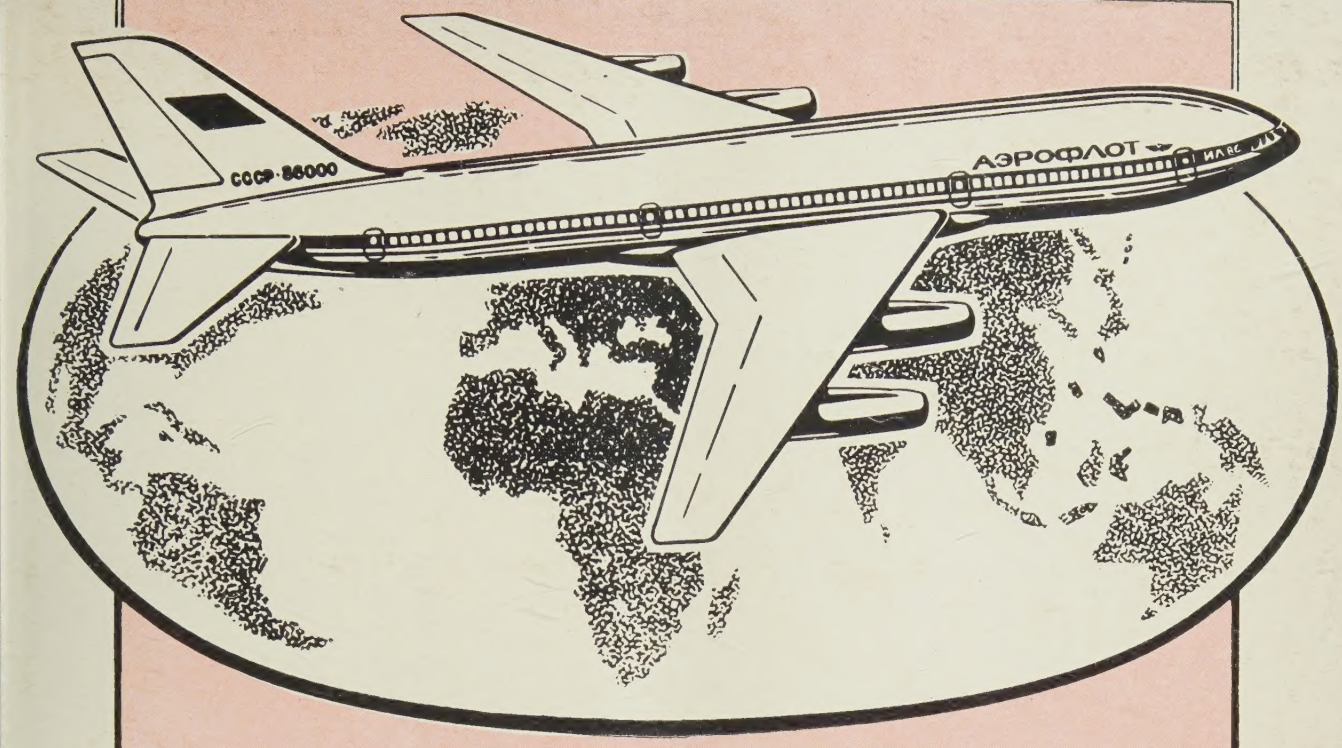
Today Latvia is on the move, a process as complex as it is innovative. What a responsibility this lays at this dramatic time of renewal on the shoulders of a searching, highly intellectual artist who has concentrated in his person the entire range of popular volition and aspiration! He must not only measure up to this new task, but also help all others in Latvia's world of arts to make the right choice, one that will serve for years to come. All who know him see him as the sort of generator of ideas that the Latvian republic, indeed the country as a whole, so badly needs in this critical post.

Hitherto Raimonds Pauls has owed his prestige and authority to his maturity and creative endeavour. Today he faces the eternal question of how to combine creativity with the demands of high office. Which will come first?

Could his far from easy decision to accept the appointment suggest the answer?

He was needed.
So he took the job.

Vitaly Ignatenko



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CONTAINERS

of the design and workmanship that guarantee safe transportation of the cargo in dust-proof environment.

Max. service gross mass, kg	24,000
Tare mass, kg	2280
External dimensions, mm:	
length	6058
width	2438
height	2591
Door opening, mm:	
width	2320
height	2300

The loaded containers can be stacked in 9 tiers.

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